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AN INDICTMENT OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY.

BY ANGLO-AMERICAN.

It is difficult, just at first, to associate an Englishman with self-depreciation. The difficulty, to be sure, is more logical than real; and logic, a poor key to anything, is no key at all to the contradictions and inconsistencies of national character. With whatever surprise, one soon comes to accept it as a fact that, with the natural hardihood of their stock, there mingles, in the English, oddly and insistently, this bias towards a sort of national despondency, this element of self-depreciation. It is a fact no more explicable by formula than the political cynicism with which Americans overlay, but cannot conceal, their profound and incurable altruism. The trait would seem to be of recent growth, and yet already confirmed enough to be called a habit. One can imagine, at any rate, nothing more alien to the spirit of Elizabethan England, for instance; nothing, too, of which the aristocratic England that warred down Napoleon was less conscious.

It came in with democracy; but democracy was not the cause of it, or, at least, not the sole cause. In part, one might trace it to age, and the weariness that age thinks it almost indecent not to feel, or, at any rate, not to parade. In part, again, it is the bastard offspring of that dreamy Cosmopolitanism which so

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absurdly gilded the cold philosophy of the Manchester school of politics. But I should be inclined more than anything else to ascribe it to the passing of that halcyon age of monopoly in which England, thanks to the play of fortune and the sterling capacities of her people, became "the workshop of the world." A monopolist who has lost his monopoly, finds himself singularly unequal to the stress of competitive conditions. The change from the old to the new takes on the sweep of a revolution. The whole mental focus has to be readjusted, the quiet jog-trot of former years must be transformed on the instant into a break-neck gallop, science displaces the rule of thumb, a devouring alertness supplants the easy, hackneyed routine. The very qualities that monopoly fosters are precisely those that competition begins by discarding. The peculiarities of the English temperament made the monopolistic "atmosphere" excessively congenial, and therefore excessively hard to grow out of. There arose in consequence, first, a resentful amazement that any change should be necessary, and then a despairing wail of acknowledgment that England was unprepared, that she had reposed too long and lost thereby her ability to "rough it." The pessimism of the last few years has, perhaps, its main source in that discovery.

But, whatever the cause of it, the fact itself is but too palpable. England, almost alone among the great Powers, has entered the twentieth century in a spirit of depression and foreboding. In France, for the first time since Sedan, we are witnessing the beginnings of real hope, contentment and confidence. In Germany, the consciousness of a tremendous destiny is still keen and operative, and no domestic complications seem able to diminish that invigorating German sense of being on the crest of the rising wave. Italy feels within her the stirrings of a genuine and lasting *risorgimento;* Russia faces the future with a fervid, patient, almost mystical faith; to America the whole prospect, as usual, is rainbow-hued; even Japan waits and prepares in hope. But in England the "note" is one of self-criticism, of complaint, of discouragement. It is loudest of all in the sphere of commerce and industry, but it is heard in every section of the national life. There is little that they can call their own in which the English any longer place their old implicit trust, unless it be the navy and the colonies. They are canvassing and questioning all things, their habitual systems, their most cherished dogmas; and they are

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doing this, not as the Prussians did it after Jena, but with almost hysterical pessimism.

The great thing, however, is, after all, that they are doing it, that there is at this moment a perturbation, almost an upheaval, of the national mind, pointing to what can hardly stop short of a general reorganization. Such a movement always runs to wildness and extremes at this or that point, as Mr. Chamberlain's revolt from Free Trade, a sign of pessimism and a confession of failure in itself, has already shown; and the English are just now more conscious that there are things to be remedied than sure of what remedy to apply. But the fact of this consciousness is the important one. It marks a vast inroad on the comfortable faith that whatever is British must be a law of nature. The present mood of the English is far more in agreement with a doctrine the opposite of that. They are beginning to suspect things simply because they are British. This, at any rate, is the true spirit of reform, and it has led them to the discovery of that blessed word, "Efficiency." Efficiency is now the preoccupation of Englishmen. They look around and find, very truly, that there is hardly a department of the national life where it might not be more utilized. They see their Parliament slipping down almost to the Continental level of incapacity and public indifference; they see an immense falling-off, actually and relatively, in the standard of administration; they see how politics are growing more and more an affair of friends, and of rich friends at that; they see, at a time when science is everything, their educational system made the battle-ground of theologians; they see the vast domination of privilege and vested interests and nepotism in the army, the consular and diplomatic services; they see, in short, a state where the career is not yet open to talent, where almost every form of inefficiency is condoned so long as it is not too palpably tainted with dishonesty. Among an astonishing number of Englishmen, the sight of all this has aroused something akin to a sense of desperation. An awakening is at hand, has, indeed, already begun, which, however crudely and with whatever mistakes, can only end in a readaptation of the national spirit and possibly of the national framework to the new needs of these changing times.

Now, it is a remarkable fact that, while so much else is being criticised and overhauled, the Monarchy remains untouched. The Monarchy lies outside the discussion. The energy of the boldest

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reformer does not, even remotely, point towards the Throne. No one dreams of suggesting that there is anything, either in the social or political position and influence of the Crown, that might be altered for the better. The limitation is not one imposed by caution, cowardice or tactical expediency. It is perfectly instinctive and perfectly unconscious; something that every one takes for granted, on which no understanding or agreement is necessary. One may even go farther. Were this movement of regeneration suspected of the ambition to reach out to the Monarchy, that fact alone would irretrievably damn it. One can hardly have a stronger testimony than this to the popularity of the Crown or its fundamental affinity with English instincts. There is no institution of one half its strength in the kingdom. England has always within her borders a certain number of "intellectual" republicans, men whose sympathies are altogether with the republican theory, who are convinced of its superiority in the light of large considerations of national well-being. Yet, these are the very men who, just because they have this detachment and clearness of mind, are the first to see and acknowledge that an English Republic is an impossibility, and that the monarchical form of government is the only one that suits the English temperament.

That immense revival during the last thirty years of the monarchical principle, of which one may, perhaps, take "bossism" in America to be a sort of reflex action, has penetrated nowhere so deeply as among the English people. Indeed, one may say that republicanism in England is to-day simply non-existent, either as a policy or an aspiration. Even the Hyde Park orators of a Sunday evening have dropped it. And yet, as recently as the early seventies, it seemed to have a fighting chance. Men went about speaking of the possibility of a declared Republican Party in Parliament. Sir Charles Dilke stumped the country in a campaign against the expenses of Royalty, and riots and intense excitement everywhere marked his progress. The birth of the Third Republic in France was another factor that reacted powerfully and in an anti-monarchical direction on current English politics. There were debates in the House of Commons of extraordinary violence on the general position of the Monarchy. The question was undoubtedly for awhile "in the air"; many believed that the hour had actually struck. There was no idea of a sudden revolu-

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tionary change, but the conviction grew that an English Republic was one of the certainties of the future, and that the manner and moment of its coming might safely be left to the natural play of time. The movement, if one can call it such, soon spluttered out, quenched as much as anything by the almost fatal illness of the Prince of Wales. Its next result was rather to strengthen the Monarchy than weaken it, and the immense quantity of history manufactured during the last thirty years has been of a kind to help and confirm that result. The growth of the Imperialist spirit, focussing as it must on the Crown, the mellow close of Queen Victoria's reign and the half-religious devotion that grew up around her, were two influences of inestimable potency in raising the Monarchy to a height unreached at any previous period in English annals. The Crown to-day finds an unchallenged acceptation. For the overwhelming mass of Englishmen, one might almost say, it has ceased to be an institution and become a law of nature.

To every nation, a central rallying-point, fixed, stable, unaffected by the passing tumult and strife around it, is an asset of supreme political utility. In the mere fact of its permanence and discreet aloofness, there is an invaluable restraint, an assurance of public orderliness and tranquillity. Americans have found this virtue in their Constitution; the English find it in the Monarchy. In both countries, there is, as it were, a guarantee that the foundations are secure, and the fundamental questions of politics and the social fabric already settled. Circumstances have made the fulfilment of this function an almost unconscious act in the British Monarchy; the wearer of the Crown, it is hardly too much to say, finds it automatically fulfilled for him. So far as this, the constitutional, side of his position goes, a bad English King is almost as unthinkable as a bad Speaker of the House of Commons. It would argue an astonishing incapacity if the Monarchy were to lose, or even jeopardize, its strength as a presiding object of agreement. It attained to the fulness of that strength under Queen Victoria; the last thirty years of her reign confirmed and consolidated it—and thirty years may be a long time even in the history of such an Empire as Great Britain's. This virtue, then, of the Monarchy, in marking limits, in creating and maintaining a zone of calm, in withdrawing itself from the lower planes of discussion and strife, is a virtue for which full credit should be

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given. It is a negative virtue, no doubt, but, for all that, indispensable from the standpoint of public peace as well as of self-interest. Those institutions that resist the least, usually live the longest.

But it is not by any sober balancing of the expediencies that the attitude of the English people towards the Crown is to be gauged. That attitude is determined, as most things are determined, by forces that have little to do with reason. Among these forces, the first and most pervasive is the power and the charm of ancient habit, buttressed by centuries of steady, unexciting, above all prosperous, history. No influence responds so precisely to the peculiarities of the British character as this, just as no influence has done more to make that character what it is. "Whatever is, is right" is a maxim to which the English subscribe with instinctive unanimity. It may be a proof of their political genius that they do so, or it may not; but, whether it be a final advantage or disadvantage, there can be no question that the bent of mind which inclines so naturally towards a reverence for the thing that is, works powerfully for an uncritical acceptance of the Crown.

Again, the common concomitants of a Monarchy—its social pre-eminence and glitter, the pageantry of it, its variegated appeal to the smaller ambitions—all act on the British senses with singular effect. And, curiously enough, this effect is widened and intensified with the years. It used to be felt only by "the town," by a narrow, exclusive, really patrician, circle; it has now a range that embraces the whole kingdom. Democracy and mechanism, while destroying the naturalness of Monarchy, have multiplied its popular attractiveness by bringing thousands within its radius of influence, where formerly there were tens. The more artificial it becomes, the greater seem to be the possibilities of its contact with ordinary men and women. The Tzar, for example, has not one tithe of the social power over Russia that King Edward exercises over his subjects in the British Isles. There is thus a vast increase in the number of those who have a personal interest in the Monarchy, who have watched a state pageant, have been in the presence of the Royal Family, and can boast an acquaintance, even if only second-hand and momentary, with the Court. Politically, the direct power of the British Crown is largely a convention; socially, it was never so much a reality,

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never so extensive and so intensive, as to-day. You have but to talk with the wife of a provincial mayor, after a Royal visit to her town, to know this.

Is this social influence of the Crown a good or a bad thing? That depends, of course, on how it is wielded. It may be the most powerful of all instruments for social well-being; it may also be very much the reverse. I am afraid that, in England's case, the conclusion of any thorough and dispassionate inquirer must be that the Monarchy militates against national efficiency, emphasizes and encourages what is least desirable in the national character, and perpetuates an atmosphere which is fatal to the realization of the country's best self. This conclusion is not based, or at any rate not entirely, on the actions or personality of the present wearer of the English Crown. The factors, or most of them, that have gone to its making are inherent in the general position and workings of Monarchy in England, in the spirit it engenders, the system it supports and is supported by, and the kind of example it sets. These might very well be considered apart altogether from King Edward VII. and the subordinate members of the Royal Family. At the same time, there is no reason to regard King Edward's mode of life as other than typical of what England expects of, likes in, and will probably continue to receive from, her Monarch. A diary of his doings might, therefore, throw a certain light on the manner in which Royalty discharges its functions, with the concurrence and even applause of the British nation. You would find in it, of course, an infinity of court ceremonies, levees, investitures, balls and "drawing-rooms," state visits to provincial towns and neighboring countries, reviews, receptions and so on. You would also find a considerable chapter given up to sport, chiefly horse-racing, with a few sections devoted to yachting, pheasant and partridge shooting and attendance at polo matches. "Bridge" and the theatres would be not infrequent items, and they might be indefinitely supplemented by the gossip of the London clubs. You would also happen upon a vast amount of popular charity-mongering—the opening of hospital wings, the endowment of beds, the inauguration of charity bazars, the patronage of this cure for consumption, of that for lupus, of the other for cancer, and subscriptions innumerable. On a somewhat less elaborate scale, you would hear of the Prince and Princess of Wales doing precisely the same sort

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of thing. One hardly knows which to pity the more—Royalty, which is condemned to so futile an existence, or the nation, which can find in such an existence the highest expression of Royalty.

I do not wish to criticise the Royal turn for philanthropy, though I believe it to be utterly unscientific and am doubtful whether its influence has not worked for harm rather than good. Charity, at any rate, is the most public and persistent of the Royal activities and the direction of all others in which the Royal impulse has been most strongly felt. There is no easier access to a title than a thumping donation to some philanthropic scheme in which the King or the Queen has shown interest; indeed, one is tempted at times to regard the raising of money, the beating up of subscriptions, as one of the chief functions of the Royal office. But charity, after all, is but a palliative. The relief of distress, even when the distress is real and the relief intelligent, is not so important as the prevention of distress; and the engrossment of Royalty in the less vital work means the sacrifice of the only agencies that promise permanent results. Were education, for instance, to become as fashionable and as much an object of Royal solicitude as the London hospitals, there would be little need to talk of England's "decline." But the claims of education ceased, apparently, to interest the English Monarchy with the close of the reign of King Edward VI. The Seventh of that name, like all his recent predecessors, not only ignores them himself but causes others to ignore them, too; for, if the support of Royalty spells abundance, it is equally true that the neglect of Royalty spells inanition. An educational enthusiast on the Throne of England, or one who was willing even to affect enthusiasm, might in a generation recover for his country all that her contempt for knowledge is now putting in jeopardy. As things are, it must remain a terrible hiatus in the usefulness of the English Monarchy that the greatest of England's needs, the starving of which means nothing less than national defeat, should receive from it not the least assistance. And if the Monarchy does nothing for education, it does even less for art and letters, its ventures in both spheres having the trail of an unmitigated *bourgeoisie* all over them. You often hear it said in London, that there is no surer testimony to an artist's or a writer's commonplace respectability than that he should have won the approval of Royalty. The plain fact is that the English Monarchy is not an intellectual force. No

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stimulus radiates from it; it patronizes naturally the wrong thing. England's instinct for mediocrity is already terribly keen, and stands in not the slightest need of the Royal imprimatur. It is, therefore, a double misfortune that the Monarchy, like the whole kingdom, should live contentedly in an atmosphere of mental sluggishness; that taste and thought and achievement should all be compressed by its influence into the obvious, the objectionably unobjectionable moulds; that the Court should hang like an oppressive fog to blind and stifle every free intellectual breeze.

But are these more or less indirect and intangible ways the only ways in which the Monarchy works to the detriment of England? I think an increasing number of Englishmen are coming to see that the Monarchy does an even greater disservice to the country by directly handicapping efficiency. The Monarch himself cannot, in the ordinary sense, be efficient. He can be efficient, in the English sense, by giving no political trouble, by cultivating a graceful condescension, and by publicly parading himself from time to time with full ceremonial circumstance. The negativeness of this standard is really made imperative by the Royal training. Duties of a more positive kind he has been carefully unfitted for. He is the master of no trade. He may have a smattering of the navy or of the army, but in each case it is no more than a smattering, easily forgotten in the excruciating round of "functions." His education has been too scattered to be at any point complete, and his interests too dispersed and embryonic to be capable of concentration. He has had "Constitutionalism" dinned into his princely ears from childhood; and, by the time he reaches the Throne, he has unlearned the very idea of personal initiative in the things that really matter. Incidentally, what can be more disheartening than the knowledge that the goal of all this educational paraphernalia is the trained suppression of a figurehead, who may reign but cannot govern, and who must be very careful about even interfering? The Monarch drifts, accordingly, into the decorative effects of his position, signs mechanically whatever is put before him, becomes an authority on medals and precedence and uniforms, indulges in a little easy philanthropy or frankly gives himself up to "pleasure."

The example of such a life is not, and cannot be, one that makes for efficiency. It is, indeed, a fundamental drawback to the theory of a hereditary Monarchy that efficiency in the Monarch can at

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best be but an accident; and the chances of such an accident happening in England are, as I have tried to explain, discounted both by the manner of the princely up-bringing and the conventional impotence, or rather the conventional authority and the real impotence, of the Crown. No one in England seems to think of King Edward as a ruler. The idea of Royalty taking a lead in anything, of insisting, let us say, on the reorganization of the War Office or on straight shooting in the Navy, has apparently dropped from the English consciousness. Of all the compromises, and forms and conventions and tacit understandings that contribute to the workings of the British system, the Monarch is really the greatest—nominally everything, in truth next to nothing. To the prescribed and traditional inefficiency of the King, there should therefore be added, as an influence at least equally subtle and deleterious in its effect, the essential falsity of his position and the confusion, almost inversion, of standards involved in it. That a Monarch who is practically nothing should be made to appear as though he were everything, may be one of the reasonable insincerities that make government possible. The trouble begins when he is honored and kowtowed to as though he really were everything, and deserved to be more. Such a habit puts a premium on make-believe, and propagates the fatal notions that the office makes the man and that birth and worth must necessarily go together. It confirms, in other words, that caste system and that caste spirit which are the "note" of British administration and the British social atmosphere.

Of the workings of this system and spirit much might be written. Its influence is to be seen most clearly, perhaps, in the sphere of government. Monarchy and aristocracy gravitate naturally towards one another, and in a country like England, where the aristocracy forms an hereditary legislature, the alliance is not only particularly close but has a direct and especial bearing on the conduct of public affairs. It means, roughly, that the peerage and its off-shoots, the great landowning and county families, form a sort of governing class, come to look upon public office as almost a birthright, and regard themselves as naturally entitled to a predominant share in the administration. They set the tone, that is, not only of social but of official England. They make politics an affair of friends and restrict its highest honors to themselves and the comparatively limited number of wealthy persons of the

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mercantile, manufacturing and professional classes who are admitted into what is called "society." Outsiders, like Disraeli and John Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, may from time to time force their way into the charmed circle by sheer weight of genius, by profoundly impressing their personality upon the masses of their countrymen. But such instances are rare, and tend, if anything, to become rarer. It remains substantially true that a man without birth or wealth or leisure, a man who has not won the approbation of the West End and is not congenial to the Court, cannot, however gifted, hope to play a really foremost part in English affairs. He has, as it were, to pass an unconscious examination, in which his capacity and fitness for the post he aspires to hardly figures at all.

The consequence is that in every British Ministry you find a wholly disproportionate number of places reserved for the aristocracy, whose title to them is based solely on the non-essentials of birth, manners and social position. Nobody pretends they are the best men for the offices they fill, or that the country receives from them anything like full value for its money. They are there simply because they are born in the purple and cannot be got rid of. These privileged administrators, from their long and intimate association with the Court, are peculiarly susceptible to the Royal example. If they find a serious Monarchy, bent on efficiency, setting the fashion of hard work, they may, so far as their abilities and intelligence will allow them, be efficient themselves. But when they find a Monarchy, like the English Monarchy, which, without being absolutely frivolous, is remarkably without keenness or vigor of any sort, they will inevitably, except in the exceptional cases, become themselves perfunctory and half-hearted. Given an aristocracy of office-holders, placed far nearer the Court than the people, and only the example and pressure of the King himself can key them up. We may from time to time be forced to smile at the Kaiser, or if not at the man himself, then at some odd way he has of showing himself. But there is a quickening salt, even in his most characteristic exaggerations, that savors the whole German body politic. He at least is keen, alert and thorough, and with the force to insist that those below him shall be equally so. His subjects respect him even when they smile; they feel his breeziness and are stimulated by it; they share and reciprocate the thrill and stir of his intense spirit. What

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might not a pinch of his infectious and vitalizing energy do for England? But to expect such a tingling personality, or indeed a personality of any kind, on the English Throne, is like expecting decency from Tammany. "Tact," "amiability," "graciousness," are the qualities in which the English Monarchy has buried itself. So be it; but the reflex action of these qualities on public administration seems hardly of the happiest. In this matter, indeed, the Monarchy does a double disservice. It begins by restricting the largest share of the national business to a set of wealthy, titled, condescending amateurs; and it goes on to confirm their natural characteristics by its own example of resplendent indolence. And what the conjunction of these two influences may mean to the welfare of the state, can be learned from the appalling report of the Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Boer War.

Nor is it in this matter of public administration alone that the Monarchy, by its disregard of merit, creates and popularizes a confusion of false and therefore of demoralizing values. The whole system of honors, of which nothing can prevent the Monarchy from being regarded as the source, sets efficiency equally at defiance. To such a being as an Englishman, in such a world as England, a title will always carry with it an implication of superiority, will command deference, will raise its wearer above the ranks of average humanity. It will do this apart altogether from the grounds on which the title has been given. Nevertheless, the spectacle of wealth buying what honors it pleases, of shrewd donations to a Royal charity being rewarded with a peerage, of baronetcies purchased by a check to the party funds, of all the wretched huckstering and intrigue that graduate the scale of English precedence, is one that works with a subtle and degrading perniciousness. Granted that, to the common run of Englishmen, still more of Englishwomen, a lord is simply and naturally a lord, with an ordained and prescriptive right to his position and all that goes with it, there will still be those who will hark back a little further, inquire into the fundamental rights and wrongs of the matter, and work down to the unescapable conclusion that the system of precedence and honors in England is nothing but a grotesque sham. And for these there remains the alternative of accepting the system, of paying a life-respect to what they know does not deserve it, and so of conceding the one point that simply cannot be conceded without a moral tarnish;

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or else of rejecting it, and so condemning themselves to a life of protestant futility. No country, in my opinion, can be in a really healthy condition where such a dilemma is presented to the thinking minority of its citizens. And even the majority who do not think, who are conscious of no such dilemma and accept things more or less at their face value, cannot evade the influence of this caste system and spirit. What is it, at bottom, that makes the English atmosphere so difficult for an American to breathe in freely? It is, I believe, that he feels himself in a country where the dignity of life is lower than in his own; a country where a man born in ordinary circumstances expects, and is expected, to die in ordinary circumstances; where the scope of his efforts is traced beforehand by the accident of position; where he is handicapped in all cases and crushed in most by the superincumbent weight of caste, convention, "good form" and the deadening artificialities of an old society. That unconquerable buoyancy which infects the American air like a sting and challenge, and braces every American with the inspiration that he has a chance in life; that here are open opportunities, unreserved possibilities, no battering at locked doors, no floundering in blank alleys; that here, in short, it is the man himself who makes his career—is something which the English have so utterly lost as to be incapable of realizing it.

I feel sure that if one could follow the workings of the caste system into their uttermost details, one would find that the hopelessness and servility bred by it are responsible for perhaps half the commercial inefficiency and unprogressiveness of England. It makes for stagnation, just as certainly as it makes for that class rancor which gives to English trade-unionism its peculiarly bitter strength. At one point in the social scale, you may find its fruits in the worship of externals and appearances, in an overvaluation of the purely decorative, non-productive elements of life. At another, it will be repressing and circumscribing the ability of the "vulgar" in favor of genteel incompetence; at a third, you will see it spouting in geysers of flunkeyism. Between King Edward VII. on his Royal Throne and the London "floor-walker," who makes you shiver with the abjectness of his bowings and scrapings, the connection of cause and effect may not at first be apparent. It is there, disastrously there, all the same; and the caste spirit is the link. When the Monarchy sets the example of

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governing, rewarding, behaving, with a single eye to merit, there is no room and no temptation on the lower strata for slimy servility. When the Royal influence, however, tends palpably in the other direction, it will breed flunkeys as the New Jersey marshes breed mosquitoes.

I do not see how, England being what she is, the caste system, with its enormous disabilities, its poison and its blight, can be uprooted. But it is pretty clear how it can be counteracted and the evil sucked out of it without endangering whatever value it may possess in preserving the little amenities of life. There is no real reason why regeneration should not, in England as in Germany, flow from the top downwards. In this matter, indeed, if the regeneration is to be both permanent and peaceable, there is no use in looking anywhere but at the top. The Monarchy must lead England into the path of efficiency; but, to do so, it must first become efficient itself.

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THE INTERNATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE TO FORMULATE REGULATIONS GOVERNING WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY JOHN I. WATERBURY, PRESIDENT OF THE MANHATTAN TRUST COMPANY, AND UNITED STATES DELEGATE TO THE CONFERENCE, REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR.

It is probable that few peaceful international events of recent years have had such a peculiar, as well as important, interest to the world at large as the Preliminary Wireless Telegraphy Conference which was in session at Berlin from August 4th to August 14th last. The importance lies more in the future than in the present, for Wireless Telegraphy is still in that nebulous state which prevents one from fairly judging whether or not it is of such real value as its present condition would indicate. But the real question raised was not whether such and such systems of Wireless Telegraphy should have a monopoly because they were first in the field, but whether the constituted authorities of the various great states were not for the first time brought face to face with the problem (as the head of the French delegation wittily observed) of whether there is not an ethereal and aërial league as well as a marine league, and whether under the new conditions a marine league of three miles is sufficient. Wireless Telegraphy, by utilizing Hertzian ether waves, is the first discovery that has brought this subject to the front; but possibly there may be other waves besides Hertzian that can be used for transmission of information. As regards the air, we may be compelled at no distant time to consider aërial navigation, and whether or not a foreign air-ship is not subject to our laws when it flies over our country, and if so what is the limit of height.

It is a very intangible subject, and in this preliminary confer-

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ence the delegates felt all the importance of their mission and the decided inadvisability of doing more than sketching out general lines.

In order to give a broad idea of the conditions involved, it might be well to give a general résumé of the history of Wireless Telegraphy and the circumstances which brought about this preliminary conference.

Some years ago, Professor Hertz discovered the waves which bear his name. They consist simply of vibrations in the ether caused by an electric spark, which can be received by suitable apparatus placed at a distance. It should be noted in this connection that the ether is the somewhat intangible substance that fills all space, while air only immediately covers the globe. Hertz's experiments were confined to the laboratory. Sometime after Hertz's death, Professor Righi discovered the best apparatus (of his day) for making the spark, and also that a certain kind of spark was the best; but it was not until 1890 that Professor Branly discovered the first satisfactory receiver, which consists, in its simplest form, of a short glass tube, the size of a quill, containing a small quantity of metal filings. Marconi was the first to discover the fact that the most satisfactory way of collecting the waves caused by the spark and transmitting them through space, and of receiving them and conveying them to the Branly tube, was to have two upright wires, one at each station. Marconi's discovery gave the clue to practical and useful ranges; he was the first to see the commercial value of Wireless Telegraphy, and the Marconi Company was the first company in the field to exploit the new discovery.

There is no question, in this résumé, of reflecting in any way on the claims of rival inventors. Lodge, Fleming, Muirhead, Fessenden, de Forest, Tesla, Ducretet, Rochefort, Guarini, Popoff, Arco, Brann, Slaby, etc., have all contributed in most material fashion to the present imperfect solution of the problem; and in many cases the patents show that there have been independent discoveries of exactly the same thing in different countries at practically the same time. It is the old story over again that is found in the history of so many inventions: the world being ripe for the idea, the minds of many men in many countries were turned to it at the same instant. Consequently, the future battle of patents is one which is likely to be severe.

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The possibility of practical Wireless Telegraphy being established, three questions immediately presented themselves: (1) how to secure secrecy; (2) how to prevent interference; (3) how to obtain range. It may be stated that to-day the practical working range, used between ship and ship at sea and between ship and shore, varies from thirty to forty miles, though the apparatus of the various makers is scheduled to range from 100 to 125 miles. This is because there are so many misstudied phenomena whose effect is not yet thoroughly understood. For example, electric disturbances of the atmosphere such as thunder storms, near or distant, have a marked effect. Sunlight has also a marked effect, but it is not certainly known whether it is light and heat or light without heat. Land is much more difficult to telegraph over than water, which is obvious enough because of the hills which break the waves; but why should fresh water be almost as difficult as land when compared with salt water. Bare rocks and ice are extremely difficult and in Somaliland the desert has up to now presented an insurmountable obstacle.

In order to obtain secrecy, two methods are now being studied. By the first method the sending and receiving apparatus are tuned to a similar wave-length. This matter of electric waves is a very odd one. It is usual to compare these waves to the circles produced in water by throwing in a stone; but the water-wave looks as if it advanced whether it does or not. A better comparison is that to the vibrations of a rope secured at one end and shaken at the other; the waves can be made to vary by the amount of force exerted, and the rope obviously does not advance. Ether waves can be made to vary in the same way by suitable electrical appliances, and laboratory experiments can be made to prove the actual length by arranging a long wire, through which a wave is passing, about the walls and ceiling, and drawing sparks from it at every foot or so. A regular wave of intensity will be shown to exist by the length of sparks extracted; it varies from nothing at the nodal points to, say, three-quarters of an inch at the point of maximum swell.

Theoretically, of course, if two sets of apparatus are using different wave-lengths, their signals will not interfere and careful experiments will show this to be true. At an exhibition before the Conference at Berlin, Count Arco showed two signals being received on different apparatus, and recorded at the same

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time, from a distance of one and two miles, respectively, only one mast wire being used at the receiving station. He had arranged for a third at the same time, but the apparatus got out of order before the exhibit, and it was not shown. The two wave-lengths used were of 2,000 and 4,000 feet, respectively. The third length was to have been 1,000 feet. Marconi has made the same public demonstration in Italy with waves of 1,000 feet and 500 feet. Such exhibitions are very remarkable; but it was brought out at the conference by competent authorities that the results are not always reliable. It is to be noted that these wave-lengths are exact multiples of each other. Apparently, if reliable syntony can be obtained, the problem would be solved; but many scientists claim, for various abstruse reasons, that no more than ten different practical wave-lengths can ever be obtained. If this be true, then for a fleet, say, of forty men-of-war something more is wanted for separate communication with the flag-ship.

The second method of obtaining secrecy is simply to have each vessel supplied with a call number or signal, and with an apparatus which will work or switch in on this call and on nothing else. There are several patents which have been taken out on apparatus of this kind, some of them being paper patents, *i. e.*, patents in which the drawing is apparently accurate but which will not work out in metal. One, however, that of Anders Bull, has been tried successfully in the laboratory at Christiania, and is about to be tried practically in the Norwegian navy.

The wave theory is the most scientifically attractive, however; and syntonic arrangements do add greatly to the distance at which wireless telegraphic signalling can be carried on. Moreover, the wave theory holds in so many other fields of research, as in the construction of ships, the transmission of sound, the detonation of explosives, etc., that we may be sure that it will be much more closely studied; but at present one certainly takes the public into one's confidence when one sends a wireless telegraphic message. In last year's British naval manœuvres, the Admiral commanding one of the rival fleets took an ingenious advantage of this fact by making no signals himself but keeping a careful watch of his own receiving instruments. He thus became aware of all the projected manœuvres of his rival and therefore easily defeated him.

So far are we from being able yet to achieve secrecy that there

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is sometimes something positively uncanny and Mephistophelian in the way these Hertzian waves betray their supposed masters. Some time ago, a man-of-war was exercising at discovering torpedo-boats with two searchlights. Suddenly, one of the lights commenced to wink or flicker. This seemed all the more strange as its carbons were feeding regularly, and the other light was burning clear under the same current. Presently, some one noticed that there was a certain rhythm about the winks; and, the intervals being marked on paper, a complete Morse dot-and-dash signal revealed itself. It was afterwards learned that two foreign men-of-war, which were out of sight, were exchanging this identical signal by Wireless Telegraphy at that exact time. Here was a new form of receiver accidentally discovered, which happened to be in syntonic harmony, while the neighboring light was entirely devoid of any such qualities.

How to prevent interference is something which, in the present state of Wireless Telegraphy, is reduced simply to arranging such a succession of signals that no two ships will be signalling to a third or to a shore station at the same time. Generally speaking, it may be said that, if A is signalling to B and C to D, A will interfere with C if he is nearer to C than C is to D. The general consensus of opinion at the conference was, that men-of-war and posts for national defence should be quite independent of all regulations.

How to obtain the greatest range is, for ordinary apparatus, to be solved by syntony, as has been already stated, combined with carefully constructed instruments and sensitive coherers (Branly tubes) together with more sensitive relays, which, being actuated by the slightest Hertzian wave modified by the coherer, will switch in a battery strong enough to work a Morse recording apparatus. The receiver—a term which includes the whole receiving apparatus—is at present considered to be the most important part of a Wireless Telegraphic establishment; and many other inventions designed to supersede the Branly tube are now being tried, the most notable being the Castelli coherer where a drop of mercury replaces the metal filings. Very sensitive telephones have also been invented, which give much greater range than filing tubes with Morse recorders; but the objection to them lies in the fact that they do not record. Marconi's greatest ranges have been obtained by the use of a telephone combined with his magnetic

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receiver in place of the Branly tube or Castelli coherer. This magnetic receiver is an ingenious device which takes advantage of hysteresis or lag of current in a piece of metal alternately magnetized and demagnetized, and is more sensitive than a filing tube. Among the new receivers that of Professor Fessenden is remarkable in the fact that it depends upon the change of temperature produced in a minute piece of platinum wire by the passage of the Hertzian wave; this change of temperature actuating a very sensitive telephone by modifying the conductivity of the wire. For ships' use, however, filing coherers with Morse recorders are preferred, from the fact that a record on a tape is quite independent of what any man with a telephone thinks that he hears. To reach the extreme ranges obtained by Marconi, it has been found necessary to erect the huge wire-cages at Poldhu, Glace Bay and Cape Cod, so often shown in the illustrated papers. An apparatus of one hundred and fifty horse-power is said to be employed; but the Marconi Company are naturally jealous of their business interests and nothing is known of their exact methods of procedure by any one except the experts of the company. Similar stations of much greater power are proposed at Pisa in Italy, and at some point in Argentina. In the course of his earlier experiments, Marconi demonstrated that a short hollow cylinder of large capacity was almost as good an agent for collecting the waves at each station as mast wires; but he has never had time to develop the subject. It is a matter of extreme importance, and bears upon the much-mooted point as to whether the earth and its water do not really play the most important part in transmitting long-distance signals. The fact that these waves, whatever they are, will go round the curvature of the earth, although the masts are comparatively short, points in the same direction. The importance of using a short cylinder, possibly the funnels of a man-of-war, instead of 150 feet of mast wire, needs no proof when we consider their relative chances of being shot away.

Having discussed the essential requirements of successful Wireless Telegraphy and the present condition of perfection that has been attained in each, it may be well to state the general commercial situation in brief. The present manufacturers of Wireless Telegraphic apparatus for sale are, in the United States, Fessenden, De Forest and The American Marconi Company. In England there are The Marconi Company, Lodge, Muirhead, and

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Armstrong & Orling; there are a few others, as in the United States, who make small parts, but no others able to name a price for a complete set. In France, there are Ducretet-Popoff and Rochefort. In Germany there were formerly Slaby, Arco, and Brann-Siemens; but they have now combined into one firm, called "Telefunken." In Russia, Popoff is associated with Ducretet in Paris, who does the manufacturing.

There are only two companies who exploit Wireless Telegraphy, own their own stations and make their own apparatus; these are the Marconi Company and the De Forest Company. There is another company in France called the Compagnie Française de Telegraphic sans Fil; but as the French Government has confiscated the only station erected by them in France, that at Cape La Hague, and has refused authorization for any others, this company can scarcely be said to have an existence in France. It advertises, however, to have received concessions for two stations in Holland, two in Norway, two in Greece, and to have formed a branch company in Spain. All the other individuals and firms mentioned merely manufacture apparatus for sale at a fixed price. The Marconi Company will not sell except for a price, *plus* a royalty for fourteen years, or for a larger price in which the royalty is included, as is the case in their present arrangement with the British Admiralty. It may be remarked that the principal Wireless Telegraphic business to-day is that between ship and ship and between ship and shore; and at the present moment there are only two pay-stations between land and land; these are between the coast of California and the small island of Avalon, and between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, a distance of about one hundred and twelve miles. Shortly after the earthquake had destroyed the cables, the French Government erected these two stations, and they have operated with reasonable satisfaction ever since, the tariff being six cents per word. A Marconi system was successfully established among the Sandwich Islands, but it failed through unreliability caused by lack of skill among the native operators.

As regards the national use of the different kinds of apparatus the situation is as follows:

In Russia, the navy uses Ducretet-Popoff in large numbers; but the post-office and army have a few Telefunken stations for long-distance signalling and army field-work;

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In Austria, competitive trials are now being made between French and German manufacturers, the Marconi Company having declined to compete;

In Germany, all departments are supplied with Telefunken apparatus, but not to the same degree; the navy has large numbers; the army a less number for field-service and the Post-Office Department a few; the apparatus is modified by government officials;

In France, the government divides its orders between Ducretet-Popoff and Rochefort, and the relative quantity ordered by the different departments is about the same as in Germany; the apparatus is perfected by government officials;

In Spain, some few experiments have been made with French and German material, but the apparatus preferred is that of de Cervera, a Spanish army officer of distinguished ability;

The Italian Government has a firm contract for all departments with the Marconi Company for fourteen years; the navy has been a very active purchaser for ships and a large number of shore stations are being erected; next to the navy, the post-office has been the most active; and the army is experimenting with Marconi field-stations;

In England, which is the only country, besides Italy and Canada, that has paid money for the Marconi patents before they were tested in the courts, the Admiralty has adopted the Marconi system and given large orders; the apparatus is afterwards perfected by the officials; they have also experimented with French apparatus, and the Post-Office Department and the army are experimenting with Telefunken apparatus, both for stations and field-service.

The smaller European Powers, as well as Mexico and the South-American States, have patronized both French and German manufacturers to a moderate degree for experimental purposes, and Sweden has adopted Telefunken for her navy and bought quite a large quantity of apparatus.

In the United States, the army has experimented with indifferent success with De Forest, Marconi, and Fessenden, and a small quantity of Lodge-Muirhead and Brann-Siemens apparatus has lately been bought for experimental purposes, partly for station and partly for field-work. The navy has bought Ducretet—Popoff, Rochefort, Brann-Siemens, Slaby-Arco, Lodge-Muirhead and De Forest for competitive test. The Marconi Com-

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pany would not compete. Slaby-Arco has so far proved the best as regards general practical character and range, and forty-five more sets have been ordered for service. But this range is only 81 sea miles, compared with 125 sea miles in the Baltic with the same apparatus; there is the same relative falling off with all the others, and it appears probable that the electrical conditions of the United States are different from those of Europe.

While on the subject of apparatus, it may be mentioned that the rapidity with which improved detailed apparatus is being invented in Europe is extraordinary. At the Telefunken exhibit, the members of the Conference were shown a new coherer on the electrolytic principle, which does away with the tapper which is so necessary with the Branly tube to instantaneously decohere the metal filings after they have been cohered by the passage of the Hertzian wave. It is true that the Lodge-Muirhead revolving wheel in contact with a bubble of mercury does the same thing; but this is still another and radically different way. They were also shown a miniature Brann-Siemens apparatus for lecture purposes. The whole double set can be placed on a table about four by five feet in size, and the signalling range is about 1,000 feet. Nearly every university in Germany has one; but Toronto is the only city in America that has purchased a set. The price is about one hundred dollars, and as under existing laws they could be imported free of duty as instruments for scientific experiments, they might easily form a valuable auxiliary to the lecture outfit of our numerous colleges, as the subject of Wireless Telegraphy is certain to form a valuable and interesting accession to courses of electrical lectures in the future.

The ground having been cleared, in a somewhat rambling fashion, as regards the existing situation, it will be in order to give the reason for calling the Conference. The Marconi Company has established posts at various points in the United States, in Canada and in the United Kingdom, also at a few Continental points, and at several of Lloyds stations throughout the world. Various steamers have bought their apparatus, and travellers are now frequently able to keep in touch with the world during the whole passage across the Atlantic, by means of the Marconi apparatus on board other ships and at the shore stations. When Prince Henry visited the United States, he travelled on board a German steamer having a Marconi apparatus, and his approach-

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ing arrival was duly notified to the world. When he returned to Germany, he was on board another German steamer furnished with the German Slaby-Arco apparatus. On approaching the Isle of Wight, the Marconi station at first communicated, and then, finding the apparatus of a rival on board, refused to take a message. Emperor William of Germany thereupon called a preliminary conference of the Powers to consider the matter. It was nearly two years before the day was actually fixed, principally because it was thought necessary in most countries to hold inter-departmental conferences to formulate an opinion on this complex matter, and meantime to allow this new discovery a little more time to develop. At length, the 4th of August was fixed and forty-three delegates were assembled, eleven being from Germany, three from Austria, three from Spain, three from the United States, six from France, four from Hungary, four from Italy, three from Russia. The proceedings were conducted in French, and the "*Avant Propos,*" or programme of discussion, consisted of a series of propositions and sub-articles covering the details of each. The first was to cover the point as to whether any company should be allowed to act as the Marconi Company had acted, and the others dealt with minor matters regarding distressed ships, tariffs, men-of-war, etc. Broadly speaking, the first was the only real question, the others being entirely subordinate, and there was much carefully prepared argument and discussion. On the one side, elaborate arguments were made to show that the Marconi Company really lead the world, and that, if their stations were compelled to receive messages from inferior apparatus, not only would they be unjustly injured in their interests, but the world's good service would be jeopardized: that it was too soon to think of formulating rules to fetter a new discovery in its development; and that, if the Marconi Company had won any advantage over their rivals, it was by fair business competition in which their rivals had been so far worsted.

On the other hand, it was held that the Marconi Company had declined to compete with any one else over the same proving-ground; that their claimed superior results were no better than those obtained by officers of the different governments there represented; that it was well known that other people could communicate as satisfactorily as Marconi could, and that it was not too soon to recommend the formulation of some rules which would

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prevent the Marconi Company from developing a world monopoly which would stifle all independent research; the fact being that whereas cable companies only exploit telegraphy by means of cables, and do not manufacture cables or the apparatus for signalling, the Marconi Company were not only endeavoring to monopolize the exploitation of Wireless Telegraphy, but also of the apparatus by which such signals are made and received.

The discussion was very interesting; and, when it came to voting, the action of the various governments was a curious study. All the European nations have a government monopoly of all means of communicating information by electricity; and the vote of France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia was prompt against the Marconi monopoly. Italy was in favor of the Marconi Company, being bound to it by a contract in consequence of Marconi's having, in Italy's opinion, the most perfectly organized system and the best apparatus. England held her decision in complete reserve; but signed the minority report with Italy, on the ground that, though the British Government had a monopoly of the telegraph, this authority was not supposed to extend beyond the marine league, and Marconi and every one else had a perfect right to operate Wireless Telegraphy between the coast and ships at sea, and make such rules as they chose regarding each other without interference from the government.

The United States delegation held, first, that the United States Government had paramount authority over any Wireless Telegraph association doing business either between the States of the Union or with foreign countries; and, second, that any such organization came under the common carrier law, which, by decision of the Supreme Court, compelled any one coming under that law to receive and transmit messages from any suitably equipped vessel or station. The vote of the delegates of the United States was thus cast with the majority.

Another very curious question raised and argued at great length was, whether the Marconi Company was entitled to an indemnity in case the recommendation of the majority became law. Italy was in favor of an indemnity. England would not admit an indemnity, but suggested that a surtax would be reasonable on all messages sent by rival apparatus. The other nations, including the United States, were against either an indemnity or a surtax, the idea of the United States delegates being that

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neither the Marconi Company nor any one else was entitled to an indemnity or surtax because they had erected stations on our soil without having consulted our laws.

Minor matters, such as rates, and what part should go to the ship and what to the shore stations, were discussed *pro* and *con:* but, as the laws of the United States permit the utmost latitude in such matters, the United States delegates considered that business alone would ultimately regulate them, and that it was a matter of too small importance to discuss at the present time. The European nations held somewhat different ideas, because of their absolute control in such matters; but the general idea prevailed that the tariff should be equitable and in proportion to the telegraphic work done.

The work of such a Conference as this could be at best but preliminary, as its name indicates; but the result of the examination, for the first time, of the wireless telegraphic situation as it is to-day points very clearly to the advisability of a subsequent Congress, whose delegates shall be fully instructed and endowed with sufficient authority to go more deeply into the question in all of its relations.

JOHN I. WATERBURY.

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WESTERN CANADIAN VIEW OF THE FISCAL QUESTION.

BY THE HONORABLE R. P. ROBLIN, PREMIER OF MANITOBA.

THE conditions which have been created by the fiscal conversion of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain are such as necessarily command the attention, and invite the study, not only of every British colonist, and every man who owes allegiance to the British flag, but of every individual and every nation having financial or commercial relations with the United Kingdom. No part of the British Empire is more deeply interested in the matter than the Dominion of Canada, and no part of Canada so vitally affected as the Northwestern portion of the Dominion, which sees in the acceptation or rejection of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, the advancement or retardation of her development by at least two decades.

The abstract merits of Free Trade *versus* Protection do not enter into the consideration of the question from the present standpoint. The United Kingdom, for over half a century, has opened her doors to the manufactures and products of foreign nations, and of her own Colonies, on exactly the same terms and conditions. For a considerable portion of the earlier part of that time, the Motherland appeared to make substantial progress in almost all departments of trade and commerce; and, although certain of her industries showed a rapid decline from the moment that the protective barriers were removed, notably her farming interests and her silk manufactures, yet the increase in the volume of trade was such that it became almost a fetish with British statesmen, whose education was more on classical than commercial lines, that any increase in gross figures was a thing to rejoice over, whether or not that increase kept pace with rates of increase in other countries, and no matter whether it really represented a

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larger increase of expenditure than of income. It seems, indeed, to have been an accepted maxim of political economy in Great Britain, that no man was qualified to guide the destinies of British trade and commerce unless he was absolutely ignorant of the first principles of business; and that the Colonies, the United States, and other countries which selected educated men of business to manage the industrial affairs of their respective countries, were necessarily wrong in the policy advocated and pursued by these men. Figures and statistics do, not, however, establish that Great Britain's ratio of progress has been equal in any degree with the advancement of nations which adopted a different fiscal policy, and the fact that her export trade has only increased by 7½ per cent. against an increase of 30 per cent. in her population since 1872, is striking enough compared with the extraordinary ratio of progress in foreign countries in the same period.

It is also significant that almost the first British statesman of eminence who has a successful record as a business man, should also be the first to break away from the traditions of the school founded by Cobden and Bright, the former of whom failed in business, and was assisted by a national subscription of £80,000 to carry on his mission of teaching the nation how to muddle its affairs as badly as he muddled his own.

The Colonies, while loyal to the Crown and the flag, have been forced by the law of self-preservation to abandon the fiscal policy adopted by the Motherland. The struggle for existence was too keen for them to make any progress under a policy which mortgaged their home market before it was created. The Dominion of Canada, after the Confederation of the British North-American Provinces in 1867, undertook to adopt, to a large extent, the principles which had been taught by Cobden and Bright. The result was financial distress, commercial prostration and the soup-kitchen. To rescue the people of Canada from the admittedly deplorable conditions which their adoption of this policy had produced, the principle of protection was substituted for it in 1878; and since that time no public man in Canada who has had the power, has dared to eliminate that principle from the fiscal policy of his country.

Other Colonies of the British Empire, notably the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand and Cape Colony, and in fact all the self-governing states, have adopted a similar policy; and this

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fact has gradually, but none the less surely, attracted the attention of British statesmen imbued with Imperial ideas, with the result that we have to-day the pronouncement of Mr. Chamberlain which has so profoundly affected public opinion in the United Kingdom.

There can be no doubt of the accuracy of the statement that Great Britain's future growth and expansion in trade and commerce depend upon her Colonies. It is also equally true that upon her policy to her Colonies depends her future rank as one of the first Powers in the world. The necessity which exists, therefore, for strengthening the ties which bind the Colonies and the Mother Country is recognized by those British statesmen who are called Imperial Federationists, and who believe that the internal trade relations of the Colonies and the Motherland should be placed on some different basis from that of foreign countries. This is an intelligible policy, which appeals not only to the patriotism of the Colonial citizen, but also to his business instincts; and for this reason Mr. Chamberlain's proposals appeal especially to Western Canada.

Admittedly, the most important Colony of Great Britain is Canada, which has a greater white population, greater natural resources, conditions, and prospects than any of the others; and a more assured future than at the moment it appears possible for any other Colony to attain to. The first requisite for the maintenance of Canada's present relations with the Motherland when her population increases to twenty or more millions of people, is that those people shall remain loyal to the flag and Monarch of the land which gave her her first settlers.

I have said that Canada is the greatest of the Colonies; and, without depreciating or disparaging in any way the other provinces of Canada, it may be safely asserted that the part with the greatest possibilities is that portion which lies west of Lake Superior, and which possesses those natural advantages of soil, climate, and other conditions which are necessary to pre-eminence.

Her prairies, forests, mines, and fisheries have almost illimitable possibilities. The prairies can produce hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat, and thousands of head of cattle; and, under favorable conditions, in the short space of ten years, she could supply the British market with all the grain, flour and cattle which Great Britain is bound to require from abroad even if an

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alteration in her fiscal policy should give a great impetus to her manufactures.

The actual acreage in the land area of Northwest Canada, after deducting water, and ignoring British Columbia, is as follows:

Manitoba	41,002,240	acres.
Assiniboia	57,177,600	"
Saskatchewan	69,120,000	"
Alberta	63,523,200	"
Total	230,823,040	"

A careful and very conservative computation of the good farming lands in this acreage, after deducting forests, mountains, supposed swamp lands, arid districts and road allowances, gives the following results:

Manitoba	23,000,000	acres.
Assiniboia	19,000,000	"
Saskatchewan	17,000,000	"
Alberta	16,000,000	"
Total	75,000,000	"

This does not take into account many hundreds of square miles which have never been properly surveyed, and others which irrigation would make profitable for farming purposes. Out of this 75,000,000 acres, 45,000,000 are at present undisposed of; but, at the present rate of entry for homesteads, it will only take ten years to dispose of them. Now, what does this mean in crop production and possibilities? In the last twenty years, there have been only two short crops, and the average yield of all kinds of grain has been twenty bushels per acre, an average which tends to increase with more careful farming.

I do not propose to go into detailed facts and figures connected with last year's crop in Manitoba or the Territories, although the actual statement regarding the three principal products, wheat, oats and barley, for 1902, may be useful as data which may aid the reader in estimating the weight of my further arguments.

1902.	Manitoba.		N. W. T.	
Wheat	53,077,267	bushels.	13,956,850	bushels.
Oats	34,478,150	"	10,661,295	"
Barley	11,848,422	"	870,417	"
Total	99,403,839	"	25,488,562	"

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Ten years hence, on the most careful estimate, based only on the present rate of settlement and production, which shows a tendency to increase at a greater ratio, the following will be the production in these three chief grains, supposing that only 43 out of each 160 acres are under crop at that time:

	Manitoba and N. W. T
Wheat	350,000,000 bushels.
Oats	200,000,000 "
Barley	50,000,000 "
Total	600,000,000 "

Looking forward to the future, as we have a right to do, the question of a preference in the home market for Western Canadian grain becomes one of great importance. Supposing that the Mother Country imposed a tariff of two shillings a quarter and gave us a preference of half that amount, so as to retain the other shilling for the benefit of her own agriculturists, it would mean that we could supply the United Kingdom with all the wheat, oats and barley she required from outside sources, at a profit to ourselves, and at no appreciable increase of cost to the consumer in the Old Country.*

In the last twelve years fluctuations of wheat in Great Britain have varied greatly in a single year, yet the alterations in the price of bread, I am informed, have not during the whole of that period varied to an extent really noticeable to the poorest householder; and to-day bread in the United Kingdom is dearer than it was before the shilling tax of last year was removed. In other words, supply and demand alone govern prices, which are not affected, so far as the consumer is concerned, by any small import duty, whether it is put on or taken off. The result of a preferential tariff would be to increase the supply of Canadian wheat, and to make the United Kingdom more secure in times of war or public unrest, than if she depended so largely as she does now on foreign markets for the necessities of her people.

The effect of a preferential tariff on Western Canada would be to give a tremendous impetus to immigration. We want people to cultivate the soil and develop the wealth of the land. Tens of thousands are flocking to the Northwest every year. Some fifty

* Average prices of wheat per year from 1891 to 1901: 1891, 37s; 1892, 30s 3d; 1893, 26s 4d; 1894, 22s 10d; 1895, 23s 1d; 1896, 26s 2d; 1897, 30s 2d; 1898, 34s; 1899, 25s 8d; 1900, 26s 11d; 1901, 26s 9d.

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thousand immigrants, according to official statements, have settled here within the last twelve months. They come from the South, East and West; a great many from the United States, others from France, from Russia, from Austria, from Germany, from Norway, from Sweden and from Iceland, as well as from Great Britain herself. Even Asia has contributed her quota to the total. A very large majority come from countries which do not owe allegiance to Britain's King or the British flag. Some of them even arrive here with hostile feelings and prejudiced views of the British Empire and its institutions. The first duty of those entrusted with the government of Canada is to assimilate those arrivals from foreign and often unfriendly countries, and to weld them into a homogeneous whole. This can only be done by teaching them that political, civil and religious freedom is guaranteed by the Empire's institutions, and that protection to life and property is assured by its laws; but, even when they have learned the lesson, these people have no sentimental ties of race and blood to unite them to the Motherland, to which indeed their earliest instincts are alien. It is only by the benefits of the trade relations that exist between Great Britain and Canada, that, at any rate for the first generation, you can find a substitute for those sentiments which animate the loyalist of British birth, and which, however they may be ignored by the more narrow-minded and insular of British public men, yet have ever formed the soundest basis for national greatness from the days of Imperial Rome to the days of Imperial Britain.

It is trade relations which will make these foreigners who have settled among us happy and contented Canadians, and most easily and successfully secure their loyalty to the British Crown and flag; and this can only be done by Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to treat the Colonies on a different footing to foreign countries. So far as Canada is concerned, she has shown her willingness to adopt the principle of discriminating against all goods imported from foreign countries. Yet, there are politicians and newspapers which ask if it has been proved that the Colonies are anxious for Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to be carried into effect; while another section inquire why the Colonies should have any preference or be treated on different terms from any one else.

Rather might we ask: Why should the Colonies and self-governing states of the British Empire alone be penalized for their

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loyalty to the country of which they form a part? Does Germany treat her Colonies as foreign countries? Has Russia ever been known to refuse preferential treatment to any part of her Empire? The States which form the powerful Confederacy to the south of us are as independent in laws and internal government as any of the self-governing Colonies, but to suggest that the United States would ever debate such a point among themselves is absurd. It is true the Colonies of Great Britain have the power to penalize the products of the Mother Country and have exercised it; but that was only because it was impossible for them to adopt the fiscal policy of Great Britain if ever they were to build up their own manufactures. It was merely an exemplification of the old adage, "Self-preservation is the first law of nature"; but, on the other hand, Canada has been the first to show that, while adhering to the principles of protection, she was willing to recognize that it was not inconsistent with those principles to grant preferences within the bounds of the Empire. The principles of Free Trade, however, have no supporters in Canada. The manufacturer is strongly opposed to them. The merchants and bankers have no faith in them, and the farming classes have consistently supported protectionist principles whenever the question has been submitted to them. Even the skilled and unskilled laborer is in favor of protection, for he knows that the underlying principle of all trade-unionism is protection; therefore, Mr. Chamberlain's proposals appeal with especial force to Canadians.

It is probable that we shall be told that we in Western Canada are biased by the fact that it is to the export market we are looking rather than to imports, and that we have not studied with sufficient exactness the question which more clearly touches Eastern Canada—the question, namely, of what preference the Canadian manufacturer can afford to offer to Great Britain, in return for a fiscal rearrangement which will give the Canadian agriculturist, in common with the agriculturists of other Colonies, an advantage in the British market over all foreign competitors. The fallacy which underlies this idea is based on two misconceptions—first, that Western Canada will proceed on the lines of purely agricultural development, and, secondly, that we shall take the payment of our exports in gold.

As to the first, it is absurd to suppose that a country with a land area of over 230,000,000 acres is ever going to develop along

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purely agricultural lines. Our Western mines and rivers are alone a source of inexhaustible wealth; and, as our farming population increases and its needs multiply, hundreds of industries will spring up in the West, both to take advantage of the natural resources of the country, and to save the expense of transportation which at present adds so considerably to the cost of everything.

At the moment of writing, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association are touring Western Canada, not merely to look for new channels of trade, but also with the idea of bringing manufacturing concerns right into the path of the incoming tide of settlers. The extension of manufactures to the West is merely a question of time, and of a very short time. Cities like Winnipeg, which are increasing in all directions, at a proportionately much more rapid rate than eastern cities, are bound in the near future to attract the attention of commercial men. Already, the wholesale houses are extending their storage capacities to an extent which opens the eyes of business men who have only seen the East of Canada; and the next step, that of laying down manufacturing machinery, cannot be long delayed. With an almost illimitable field before us in this direction, we Western Canadians are just as vitally concerned in the import market as are the manufacturers in the East, and we have no more intention than they of seeing our young industries stifled at their birth, by allowing our land to become the dumping-ground of every manufacturing country in the world.

On the other hand, we are just as far from the policy of senseless and useless exclusiveness as any Free-Trader in Great Britain herself. It is as essential for our farmers to have the necessities of life cheaply as it is for the workmen of the Old Country; and we believe that a tariff can be so regulated that, while affording encouragement to budding home industries, it will yet not unfairly enhance the price of manufactured goods to the consumer, provided it is applied by those in sympathy with the principles involved.

I do not believe that the Canadian manufacturer desires protection to enable him to enhance the cost to the consumer, or even that if he did he would get it. What he does require is protection against being under-sold and forced out of trade by stronger rivals, who, having killed his industry, would raise prices.

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So far as the second misconception is concerned—that the agricultural regions of Canada will take payment for their exports in gold—it must not be forgotten that, as Western Canada develops, her requirements will for many years exceed her power of supplying them. If Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals are adopted, Western Canada will forge ahead just as Great Britain did when the introduction of railways first gave such an impetus to her iron, coal, and steel trades. Canada will, like Great Britain, become a great purchasing nation. No matter how her own industries grow, she will, as her wealth increases, import more and more from the Old Country, under a preferential tariff.

The distribution of the 75,000,000 acres of farm lands, already referred to, at the rate of 160 acres for each family, will give Western Canada in the next ten years an additional rural population of 2,343,750 souls. This will mean a corresponding increase in large cities, and a tremendous increase in wealth and spending power. We desire that the circulation of this wealth shall be confined as much as possible to our own Dominion first, and to the Empire next. The surplus can go abroad. We shall not miss it.

It depends on the Mother Country whether our ideals are to be reached. Before this wealth can be produced at all in Western Canada, we must have population. That, I have already shown, will be attracted by the realization of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. To exploit the mines for their riches; to utilize the forests, the rivers and lakes; to provide for the needs of the new population; to cover the land with cheap and rapid means of transportation, and to develop it all along the line, we shall need capital. Nor will that capital fail to flow our way, when it is seen that it will be safe and productive. There will be no exchange difficulties; for, apart from our own purchases from British manufacturers, we shall have to send back to the Old Country the interest on the millions of capital that will find its way here to develop our resources. In fact, half the objections which are raised by opponents of Mr. Chamberlain are due to superficial study of the question. Not only will British manufacturers find a profitable market here, but they will, under protection, become Canadian manufacturers themselves, and help to build up the commerce of this great Colony. Wealth and prosperity to any part of the Empire, if the Empire is properly constituted, mean wealth and prosperity to the whole; but, as at present arranged, it is foreign

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countries who benefit by the nation's wealth and give no adequate return for it. For example, if Germans wax fat on British trade, where does their wealth go ultimately? To Germany; and what is true of Germany is true of the United States, and of every other commercial competitor Great Britain has. But, if her Colonies grow in wealth, she and the whole Empire will benefit by that wealth. It will circulate in her own coffers and among her own people, and will never be used to buy guns to subdue her, or navies to wrest from her the lordship of the seas. It is difficult to understand how our kinsmen across the sea can be led in these matters by men of no experience, no business ideas, and who are crammed with the jargon of the political economist, which they but imperfectly understand and appreciate. We can understand a man like the Duke of Devonshire, and others of his type, being wedded to the principles of Free Trade, because of their education, their narrow environment, and their great wealth, all of which are calculated to prevent them from giving heed to the necessities of those who do not enjoy the blessings and advantages to which they were born, but are compelled to make use of opportunities and create conditions which will not only maintain their own existence, but will also strengthen their relations with the Mother Country.

Opportunities have not been given to many public men in Great Britain to study Colonial Questions on the ground; and, just as it is admitted to-day that the Parliament of Great Britain in 1776 was unable to appreciate the conditions and necessities of the Colonies in America, so it appears that some of the statesmen and public men of Great Britain are equally ignorant in 1903, while others, like Mr. Chamberlain, with broader minds, clearer ideas, a wider horizon, and a more statesmanlike perception, feel the necessity of strengthening the bonds which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country, if the British Empire is to maintain its proud place among the civilized nations of the world.

The Empire stands at the parting of the ways. The man who is specially identified with the situation has not created the present crisis, nor has he precipitated it. He has merely, with great ability and more patriotic courage than his colleagues, pointed out the direction in which we should travel, and staked his reputation on awakening the Empire to a sense of its danger. In the ordinary internal politics of the United Kingdom, we Colon-

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ists have no part, and there are even men who have resented any expression of Colonial opinion on this topic. But we claim the right to be heard in a matter which affects the destinies of the whole nation, and which means so much to us individually; and, for this reason, we are rallying to the support of Mr. Chamberlain, recognizing, as we do, the gravity of the question, and him as the man most fitted to cope with it.

The carrying into effect of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals in their entirety, means to Canada, and to this part of Canada in particular, the acceleration of our growth as a great commonwealth. With conditions such as would exist under Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, we can absorb millions of people in the West, and transform them into British subjects who will make for the strength and wealth of the Empire, beyond anything that the so-called Little Englanders ever dreamed or anticipated. The problem now agitating the people of the United Kingdom affects us deeply. A wrong decision can only retard us, however; it cannot stop us. But, to the Empire as a whole, it is a question of life or death, of commercial success or national decay. After recent revelations in other departments of British administration, we shall be astonished if the people of the Motherland make the mistake of refusing a hearing to the experts, and following the lead of men who, immured, so to speak, in a monastery created by class and educational restrictions, not only believe their own judgments infallible and all the rest of the world wrong, but are incapable of taking that broad view of Imperial questions which is so necessary in these days, when the best brains of the whole outside world are competing with the British Empire, and striving to raise their own individual and national interests on the ruins of British supremacy.

R. P. ROBLIN.

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A POSTSCRIPT ON RUSKIN.

BY VERNON LEE.

". . . . Through such souls alone
God, stooping, shows sufficient of His light
For us i' the dark to rise by. . . ."

COMING, as it did, when all England was engrossed by the tragic practicalities of the war, the death of Ruskin failed to bring home, as the death of every great master normally does, the full sense of what this man has done and can do for our more than momentary dignity and welfare. The case being such, it is better to come, as I do, when others have long since had their say; since there is now hope of some attention from those whom I would try to bring back to a study of Ruskin, by enumerating some of the possibilities and habits of thought and feeling which I am myself aware of owing, at least in definite and imperious form, to the teachings of this great prophet of righteous happiness. And the attention I should most desire is that of the younger of my possible readers and those of most advanced opinions; because I am convinced that, far-spreading as was his influence on his immediate contemporaries, and large as is the debt (though often second-hand and unacknowledged) due to him by the following generation, the very best of Ruskin's efficacy can be expected in the future: an efficacy more limited, perhaps, but more genuine and fruitful, unhelped, but unmarred also, by community of prejudice and error, and founded solely and safely on similarity of feeling and of aspiration. For the intuitions of Ruskin's many-sided genius were recommended to the majority of his contemporaries—a majority larger than could really assimilate them—by the system of symbolical metaphysics and dogmatic morals in which he set them with so tedious an ingenuity; but our modern habits of thought have reduced this artificial frame-

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work to little more than a dreary litter, which wearies and vexes at every step. It is, therefore, high time to point out the genuine, though unconscious, organic system which unifies all that is living and fruitful in Ruskin's work, the vital synthesis of one of the richest and noblest and really best balanced of creative personalities.

More essentially than almost any other illustrious writer, Ruskin has been a giver of great gifts. He has opened out to us many and various fields of æsthetic and imaginative enjoyment, which we can sum up under a number of rough headings—Turner, Gothic, the Alps, Venice, mediæval painting, imaginative topography, certain botanical and geological interests, and many of the most essential and also the most recondite qualities of art; and he has, with the unerringness of unconscious instinct, united them all in a scheme of living, nay, rather of feeling and facing life, which is the spontaneous outcome of his character—the very flesh and blood of his soul given us to partake of. Moreover, this attitude towards life (higher than Goethe's or Carlyle's, more complete than Wordsworth's or Renan's, more human than Spinoza's or Emerson's) has the active, and at the same time contemplative, satisfactoriness of being in the widest sense religious—how truly so those best can judge who will strip away the mere ecclesiastical symbolism and theological metaphysics from Ruskin's genuine and spontaneous thought: religious, in his detachment from all material possession or social vanity, his capacity to take of things only their spiritual use, their ideal fruition; religious, in his desire for union with all creatures through gentleness and sharing; religious, above all, in his passionate power of communion with all the universe through love and wonder. No writer has felt more strongly the spiritual man's disgust with the narrow utilitarianism (not Bentham's nor Mill's, truly) which looks upon the world as so much food and fuel, hides and wool; and no writer (not even Tolstoi) has felt greater wrath at the exploitation of human beings by other human beings. In the same way that men were sacred in Ruskin's eyes, so also was the visible and sensible universe; because he felt (expressing his feeling in the formulas of God's works and God's children) that both the universe and man should stand in relationship of spirituality with the spiritual human being.

This leads me to begin what must needs be a very rough-and-

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ready enumeration of Ruskin's many and many-sided achievements, by protesting against the common belief, shared in dogmatic moments by himself, that Ruskin was unable to sympathize with progress and was hostile to everything modern. His early education made him, indeed, impervious to many sides of science, and he had neither time nor disposition to exchange the theological notions he had received ready-made for any kind of philosophy. But the progress which Ruskin sneered at and the modernness which he anathematized were, after all, the very same which distressed and disgusted so different a man as Renan—progress which considered science merely as an instrument for commercial production, or, at best, for sanitary improvement, and modernness which regarded philosophical thought as a useful solvent of inconvenient spiritualities. We must remember that "modern" meant for Ruskin, not our latter-day habits of mind, already full of sympathy with the past and impatience of the present and tinged so deeply with reluctance and regret, but the mental habits, if "mental" they might be called, of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century; of that period of chaotic materialism, of hand to mouth ruthless egoism, against which not only Carlyle came to protest, but Karl Marx also. The wrath of Ruskin forestalled, despite exaggeration and dogmatism, a way of feeling which the scientific and philosophical development of our day, nay, even the increased habit of material welfare, will make more and more usual in the future.

Moreover, I would point out that Ruskin showed equal abhorrence for what is the very reverse of modern and of progress, the brutish neglect of the beautiful work of the past, the disrespect to nature's fruitfulness and cleanness resulting from centuries of sloth and barbarism, such as he saw it in Italy, in France, and in the Canton Valais. The diseased newness of Leeds or Manchester and the diseased decay of Venice or Verona affected him, equally, as the desecration of the soul's sanctuary. And the deeper science, the wider practicality, of coming times will justify the noble priestly wrath he showed. But my meaning about this will become clearer, and Ruskin's meaning also, in the course of enumerating a few of the interests he brought into life, and then of summing up his attitude towards life as a whole.

And to begin with art.

The action of Ruskin has been to break down all narrow dilet-

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tanteism, even of men like Winckelmann and Reynolds, and show that art was sprung from daily life and fit for daily life's consumption. Without ever belittling (as was the fashion in those days of Buckle and Taine) that creative genius which is the flower of one epoch but also the seed of another, Ruskin insisted on the participation of the humblest skill and sentiment in all the great work of the past, and indicated clearly, even if he did not formulate, that masterpieces owed the spontaneous appreciation which they got to the existence of artistic forms and qualities like their own in the commonest household objects. Moreover, while teaching his reader to take interest in the constructive reason of all architecture, Ruskin went far beyond considering this constructive reason as the essential of architectural beauty. The passages in the "Seven Lamps," and elsewhere, on the evidences of living interest, of seemingly capricious but in reality instinctively meaningful alteration of proportions and relations of line, curve, mass and surface, forestall to my mind one of the most important discoveries which scientific æsthetics will have some day to register.

And here I would point out that, in order to get Ruskin's full meaning, we must never separate his writings from those wonderful illustrations which tell us all the things words can never say. It is in them that he has given us the real quality of mediæval architecture. Nay, more than that; he has given us, in his rendering of balcony and window tracery, of the pine-cone brick-work of steeples, of the feathery keenness of lance-like iron-work, not merely the æsthetic loveliness, but also the imaginative fascination, of Venice and Verona. Think how even Goethe saw those towns, and how *we* see them. Well, the difference is due, two-thirds, to Ruskin. Similarly with the Alps. Look at his drawings, in "Modern Painters," of the Mont Blanc range. These things make one forevermore feel the uplifting, the budding of clustered peaks, the sweep of moraine and avalanche tracks, the cling of forests, and add to the reality the charm of *his* having seen and felt it.

Ruskin gave us one of our greatest pleasures (gave it consciously and as an artistic factor in life)—topography; teaching us to feel the countries growing, forming, as we move through them; teaching us to evoke the haunting presence of scenery, on dreary days or evenings, over maps, the very names of stations growing delightful, and a talk about miles and levels and surveyors' details becoming fraught with delight, a poem.

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This art of getting the imaginative essence of things, of combining the mysterious associations, subtle, microscopic, between lovelinesses of all kinds, between all evidences of noble life, which Ruskin gave us, enabled him also to point out the real literary quality which great paintings (Turner's, for instance, in the "Loire side" and "St. Gothard") got by mere selection of visible items. Nor must we think of Ruskin's analysis of these pictures as mere ingenious exercises like those first taught by Lessing, which distract the mind from real artistic quality. What Ruskin taught on the largest scale and by unconscious system was, not to substitute the aims of one art for those of another, but to unite in our mind separate imaginative delights, actual and remembered, and to multiply them indefinitely by each other till the whole world became an organic unity, not by mere links of causality or category, but by the vivifying sense of love and wonder. Ruskin felt all things with the energy and complexity due to previous feeling. The mere titles of chapters and illustrations ("Venga Medusa," "The Locks of Typhon," "The Sea Foundations") show his impressions to have been like tones rich in harmonies which are chords in themselves, and many of his records of mere scientific observations seem to be throbbing with imaginative pleasure — the record, for instance, of how he calculated the erosion of a certain mountain, and that delightful statement, one of his most beautiful bits of writing, "the true high cirri never cross a mountain in Europe. How often have I hoped to see an Alp rising through and above their level-laid and rippled fields." This culminates, perhaps, in the great chapter of "Modern Painters" on "The Use of Mountains": to give motion to water, change to air and diversity to soil; and we may add, after this chapter, to refresh, ennoble, and enlarge the soul of man. How in such passages as these Ruskin awakens our imaginative sympathy with the universe, teaching us to multiply, for instance, by the knowledge whence the great rivers come, the solemnity of the sight of them in defile or in estuary. What interest all this realization of life brings into life. Surely, he who should feel habitually as Ruskin teaches us to feel, merely in this one chapter, would be rich with the bare necessaries, and certainly would want no amusements or excitements, even on a rainy day, knowing the snow to be falling, the brooks to be rushing, behind the mist on the mountains. Nay, he would have things to look forward to as

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others look forward to the newspaper or the theatre. What dramas are the skies preparing? What pageants will be held at sunset?

Instead of which, we privileged folk—well, let us drop a veil over the futilities, the wasteful vanities, with which we cheat our tedious leisure, while the leisure, harder won, of our less fortunate brethren is employed, let us say, in reading betting news and accounts of murders and executions; a vicious circle of overwork and idleness, of waste and lack of opportunity. Here, on the contrary, we are taught by Ruskin a virtuous circle of virtuous efficacy: intellectual and æsthetic interests being not merely wholesome and ennobling in themselves, but freeing us from the pursuit, often unjust, and always selfish, of superfluous materialism and wasteful vanities, liberating our minds and lives, and incidentally the lives and minds of others, from the grindstone. From the grindstone. This metaphor inevitably enters my mind with the remembrance of another passage of just such passionate imagination, in this same volume of "Modern Painters"—the description of Turner's "Wind Mill." "Turning round a couple of stones for the mere pulverization of human food," he writes, "is not noble work for the winds." The half page gives the essence of Ruskin's philosophy, because it gives the whole of his strong harmonious mode of feeling. It does more than merely show the religious quality of the man, which places him alongside of Isaiah, of St. Francis, and the great nameless makers of primeval myths, to whom the forces of nature are neither masters nor servants, but brethren, recreated (as all things are recreated in the act of thought) in the image of his own higher nature. It shows, also, his very noble and very original intuition of the comparative values of different kinds of work, his craving for such work as shall be fruitful, not merely for the stomach, but for the soul.

Some of us see the wind as a thing to grind corn, and the stream as a thing to spin cotton; and we have, many of us, alas, from lazy conformity with the baser practicality of our time, grown almost to think that setting natural forces (even if polluted in so doing) thus to provide us food and clothing, is doing them a kind of honor, allowing them, mere soulless things, to share the life of creatures having minds, to wit, ourselves. Ruskin has shown (despite his theology asserting that the world was made to be man's kitchen-garden) that our human life was worth partici-

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pating in, that our human souls existed ("where a soul can be discerned") just in proportion as either employs nature for something beyond preparing food or providing clothing. He has not been hoodwinked by fine phrases about "saving human labor." The labor is not saved if it is set merely to other work, as stupefying and as merely hand to mouth as that you took it from. There is gain only if, setting the winds to grind and the waters to spin, we set the men and women hitherto employed at loom or grindstone to watch the winds and streams, to feel their life and rejoice in it. There is gain even if, by reducing natural forces to drudgery, a certain proportion among us, having ceased to use our muscles for such purposes, employ our minds in thoughts of higher knowledge and wider kindliness. But, in reality, we employ this privileged freedom of mind and time mainly to calculate how to get more out of the natural forces—more money out of their produce and more satisfactions of vanity out of the money. This passage forms a fit introduction to Ruskin's economical and socialistic views.

Economical and socialistic, in the sense neither of orthodox political economy nor of ordinary socialism. Ruskin's scheme, elaborated with little knowledge of economic science or of the discipline of science of any kind, strikes us at first as a hopeless jumble. He is an individualist, an opponent of collectivism. He has a theory of the intrinsic value of labor which seems to come out of some Marxian pamphlet, and, by its side, definitions of equitable exchange and summings up of the dependence of value on imaginative and emotional causes, which foreshadow the deepest analysis of Tarde's "*Logique Sociale!*" But when we look at Ruskin's books on economy in the light of his other work, we find the clue through this confusion, and we rejoice that his lack of scientific training and his unbridled personal assertiveness have made him misconceive the very subject treated by other economists, and answer them so often at cross purposes. For, while the followers of Mill or Marx have amply furnished us with treatises (more or less logical and more or less narrow-minded) on the question of how and by whom wealth is really produced, Ruskin, following only his passionate human sense, has given us what is wholly different: a theory how wealth ought to be spent. This way of looking at the subject (notwithstanding some wrong-headedness and much quibbling) enlarges and corrects political econ-

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omy even on the mere scientific side, introducing the consideration of factors such as are nowadays beginning to sweep away the recent notions of "historical materialism," and setting the question of productive and unproductive labor in a more perfect manner than any other writer on economics, orthodox or socialist, whom I know. I could quote twenty passages from the "Political Economy of Art" and from "Unto this Last" alone, which, were they taken to heart, would improve not only economic theory as propounded in books, but economic practice as it enters into the life of every well-to-do man and woman. That national wealth is meaningless save as equivalent of national happiness; that he who spends deals not with his money only, but with the mode of occupation, the present bodily and spiritual welfare, the future misery or comfort, of those his money sets to work; that every object of luxury consumed without improvement to the consumers' bodily or spiritual efficiency, is so much human labor destroyed, and so much human life and happiness wasted; that, in fact there is as much morality or immorality in the mode of spending wealth as in that of acquiring it, and that every prosperous person is, however unconsciously, the honest or dishonest steward of his community; these are the chief headings of Ruskin's political economy. These are the truths which Ruskin has guessed in their main features, and elaborated, with the unerring sight of deepest sympathy, in every kind of detail. And they are truths which, if we saw and felt them thoroughly, would, as I hinted, add a great new factor to all economic problems: the factor of moral and imaginative selection, of an *idée force* (in M. Fouillée's phrase) acting as an economic determinant.

I have spoken of moral and imaginative preference. I ought to have added, to do justice to Ruskin's special genius, "and æsthetic." For it seems to me that Ruskin shows, in his own person, that such aspirations after justice, kindliness and simplicity of life are the result of a wide sweep of imagination, which feels distant evil as discordant with good at hand; and, even more, of that habit of harmony, that craving for contemplative satisfaction, which make up the æsthetic nature. I have insisted on the importance of this æsthetic side for an even weightier reason: that a belief in it is the deepest basis of Ruskin's hopes for social improvement. Increased sympathy and self-restraint, usually the only factors thereof which moralists take into consideration, are

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thought of (or rather *felt*) by Ruskin as the means of substituting the interests and pleasures of the imagination for the exorbitant interests and pleasures of sensuality, of vanity or of acquisitiveness.

There would be food enough and shelter enough and leisure in the world for every one, such is Ruskin's unformulated thought, if every one would be satisfied with such superfluous wealth, with such superior power, as is represented by the spiritual possession and spiritual multiplication of everything that is and can be beautiful. Like every great dream of universal happiness, Ruskin's conception of God's kingdom on earth is that of a kingdom of the spirit. "None of us yet know," he wrote in "The Eagle's Nest," "what fairy palaces we may build of beautiful thought, bright fancies, satisfied memories, noble histories, faithful sayings, treasure-houses of precious and restful thoughts, which care cannot disturb nor pain make gloomy, nor poverty take away." And the importance of the teaching of Ruskin is largely, as I said at the beginning, that he gave us not merely the conception of a higher, wider, less selfish and more active life, but that he gave us, in the unintended revelations of his own personality, the proof that such a life can actually be lived. No man, perhaps, has ever possessed so great a power of living in all the things which increase, instead of diminishing, by use and sharing; from the great mountain, whose image ennobled further the nobility of the buildings with which he connected it, as in the splendid Matterhorn passage in the "Stones of Venice," down to the rooms of the inn at Champagnole, where he "rejoiced the more in every pleasure that it was not new." I have chosen this illustration because it exemplifies what he was fond of preaching, the increasing fertility of all beautiful and noble things under the faithful tillage of our love.

Alas, such tillage is beyond the power of most men, and few, very few of us, ill-organized and unselected creatures, life's paupers or invalids, however rich in money or robust in body, can "see and possess royally," as Ruskin did, the spiritual kingdoms of the earth. Mankind at large, leisured and well-to-do, and even intellectually cultivated, has not the health or energy or staying power to live or wish to live in such a kingdom of the spirit. Even apart from sensuality, sloth or the weakling's need for excitement, we still require, for the most part, to be kept alive by

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Ibsen's "vital lies," ballasted by prejudice, stiffened into consistency by vanity, and tempted into activity by every lust and covetousness; and, as for the incentives of imaginative pleasure and higher sympathy, if we had only them, we should most of us die in the workhouse. We are not very highly evolved or well organized creatures so far. Ruskin could never realize this. And, on the whole, it is fortunate he could not, since, although it made him unjust and abusive where others would be merely self-contemptuous and hopefully patient, it enabled him to fulfil his vocation as a great spiritual precursor. Every religion, in its noblest parts, is, after all, a *counsel of perfection,* ennobling and lastingly efficacious just in proportion as it can influence only the chosen few. And the highest ethical use of a religion is thus to influence, thus to select, the capable, and to produce in them a higher standard of capacity for those below to rise by. Ruskin's counsel of perfection is different from those we are accustomed to, but it is not, therefore, more far-fetched. It is not more unlikely that mankind may some day seek its happiness in mountains, noble works of art, generous thoughts and all the sharable enjoyments called æsthetic, than that mankind will learn to love its neighbor like itself. It need not be more difficult to live in and by an inner harmony of one's soul, than to live in God: who knows, indeed, whether it would not be identically the same process?

And now, before concluding this very rough and ready tribute of gratitude to Ruskin, this seems the right place to forestall another objection likely to be made both by believer and agnostic, that Ruskin, namely, could frame what has been called his religion of beauty, because he had the help, potent in reality or in delusion, of the other religion, the orthodox one, of which he is forever talking. Now I am, on the contrary, struck more and more by the fact, that the dogmatic part of this religion not only masked from us much of the vital value of Ruskin's nature, but hampered him even more in some of his greatest, most natural conceptions: a materialistic and anthropomorphic philosophy, a cut and dried unpsychological ethic, elaborated in a comparatively ignorant and cruel past, and handed down, with every kind of misinterpretation and quibble, by minds deficient in all historical sense—this, which is the dogmatic part of every orthodox creed, could never help the religious reality of such a soul as

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Ruskin's. Like every great poetical mind, Ruskin's was naturally pantheistic; not by dint of metaphysical abstraction and the reduction of all differences to a uniformity of nothingness, but through the conception of all things in the terms of a pure and ardent human spirit. There is loving sympathy in his thought of the leaves gently making room for one another, and tragic solemnity in that of the erosion, the gradual leaching away, of the great mountain. To him, as to St. Francis, as to Goethe and Shelley, such processes were not mechanical but archangelic. But the creed in which he had been brought up interfered; and instead of showing us nature as he felt it, desiring, loving, struggling, living, he was bound to explain it as a passive machinery in the hands of a manlike and capricious deity. I put aside his unceasing quibbling to explain the right or wrong of an artistic form, the superiority of a Gothic balustrade over a Palladian, the fineness of a rock by Turner and the wretchedness of a rock by Salvator Rosa, nay, questions of veneering and undercutting, by reference to the Decalogue, the Prophets or Deuteronomy. The very crudeness of these things renders them merely wearisome, but intellectually harmless. But this dogmatic belief actually warped Ruskin's thought and checked his spontaneous intentions.

No man was gifted with greater natural intuition of the organic, of affinity, growth, change, and all those harmonious complexities which we, remarking them, call "tendencies" in things; yet he allowed himself to think only in terms of deliberate willing, ordering, arranging, rewarding, punishing, in terms of humanly devised machinery and wretched human jurisprudence. With his wonderful eye for everything that told of life, he yet intellectually knew of only creation and its theological correlative, annihilation. How much finer would have been his historical conception of art, had he understood that the death (as he calls it) of a form of art is not a judgment from heaven, but a process which has its beneficent side, the possible preparation for a fresh living form. Nay, his habit of looking at the universe in a way not essentially different from that of Dante, had an even worse effect, depriving Ruskin, in a serious degree, of real hope in the future. The notion, the result of modern psychology from Spinoza and Kant downwards, that beauty is the name given to certain relations of proportion, visible or imaginative, in harmony with man's organic wants, this view, so really

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spiritual because subjective, and corresponding so happily with that of moral fitness and its imperative, was one which naturally fitted in with Ruskin's æsthetic intuitions, with all his discoveries about form, composition and imaginative effect, and with his aspirations after a "spiritual kingdom" it harmonized so perfectly. But Ruskin believed that beauty was a sort of entity, put by the Creator into things, and which it is the duty of man thence to extract; and, thinking thus, he naturally felt that the preference for inferior art was a form of wickedness, and that artistic appreciation must be taught with an enormous amount of theological reviling to a perverse mankind. For, as I said before, the worst effect of his theological bias upon Ruskin is its depriving him of real faith, of hope in possible improvement. The idea of spontaneity, like the idea of evolution, is carefully excluded by his dogmatism. Now, the discovery or invention of evolution has given us a habit of conceiving life as spontaneity and adaptation, above all, unconscious, necessary improvement, as distinguished from a continual unquiet readjustment and effort of our little human will; and with it a kind of wider optimistic finality, or a possibility, humbly and hopefully, of doing without finality at all. It is instructive to compare with Ruskin's harassed feeling, that all will go wrong in the world unless it be converted to his notions, the hopeful serenity of even such a pessimist as Renan; his reassuring certainty, even in his plays and dialogues, that the moral world will live through every crisis, and that the good and evil we fight and mourn about are only our small human ways of looking at the movements of a universe which takes care of itself. Whereas, alas, the universe of Ruskin is (despite its singing streams and rejoicing mountains) inert, mechanical; a dead weight lugged about by a personal (and on the whole inefficient) creator, and requiring to be poked and scolded by Ruskin himself.

And to sum up. When we have separated what Ruskin can give the future from what (unfortunately in the long run, though fortunately at the moment) Ruskin got foisted on him by the past, I think we shall see that in Ruskin, as in every other great prophet, the valuable, the efficacious element was, not what he intended to teach, but the personality, the type of human power in nature, which we feel through all his teachings. Ruskin's deliberate intention was to place Turner above Claude, Gothic above

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Renaissance, the Middle Ages above modern times, hand labor above machinery, Protestantism above Catholicism, and Biblical interpretation above scientific. But this programme matters little and soon will matter not all, these questions sinking more and more into squabbles about definitions and crusades about names, the embodiment thereof in his work being marked by injustice, violence, sophistry, and self-contradiction. But, meanwhile, the real man, the organized, intuitive, unhesitating creature of perception and aspiration, has subdued all this to his unconscious purposes, and has left us the priceless teachings of his true preferences and antipathies. He has shown us art, history, nature, enlarged, transformed and glorified through the loving energy of his spirit. He has shown us a scheme of life in which greater justice for all would result merely from greater happiness of endowment of every one. He has given us an example of contemplative union with all living things, and in his contemplative ecstasy made all noble things alive. The most larklike soul of our time, he sings at heaven's gates, and his song makes heaven's gates be everywhere above us. Greatest of all his gifts, he has given us himself: himself unconscious of all the baser temptations which we struggle with, and absorbed in happy, fruitful thoughts and feelings, sharable with every free-born spirit. His work, as I said before, is comparatively useless and positively supremely useful, because it is a counsel of perfection; and one might say, without exaggeration, that the highest meaning we can put into this ceaseless jostle of rapacities and vanities which we now call real life, would be the hope that the day may come when all mankind, or mankind's flower at least, may be allowed by circumstance and be capable by endowment to seek their most natural happiness as this real man has really done.

VERNON LEE.

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PUTTING CHINA ON THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT, TREASURER OF THE MORTON TRUST COMPANY, NEW YORK, AND MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WESTERN civilization has seemed, during the last few years, to be sighing with more restlessness than Alexander for new worlds to conquer for its inventive genius and its financial and economic organization. Such conquests, happily, where they do not raise the question of territorial acquisition, benefit alike those who make them and the countries where they are made. Railway construction, within the past decade, has traversed the steppes of Siberia, bringing the West within two weeks' journey of the extreme Orient; has connected Europe with Central Asia and the Caspian Sea; and has carried the shriek of the locomotive through the cities where Paul preached, to the capitals of the ancient civilizations of Nebuchadnezzar and Xerxes. A railway is being completed "from the Cape to Cairo," which is sending offshoots through the heart of Africa and spreading the arts of civilization through a country which, a generation ago, could hardly be traversed by the most hardy explorers under armed escort.

Familiar as are the arguments for the benefits derived from railways, their real influence as agents alike of civilization and centralized power is often overlooked. They have made possible political unions which would otherwise be extremely difficult. Many were found who predicted that the American Union would fall to pieces of its own weight when it extended to Oregon, and the maintenance of Russian power in Asia would hardly be possible without her network of ways of steel. The recent history of Mexico is another case in point. Insurrections against the central authority which once spread for weeks before they were even

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known at the capital, can now be suppressed by the use of the telegraph and the railway almost before they have taken form. The railway system in China is yet in its infancy, but the country promises soon to be gridironed with bands of steel which will open a new chapter in her economic life. In addition to the four roads already in operation to the extent of nearly a thousand miles, not less than five great lines are in process of construction, which will connect the chief cities of the interior and the coast, and concessions for half a dozen others have been granted, the plans for which are being rapidly perfected.

With the unification of national economic life which will come to China with the extension of railways, must inevitably come also many other elements of Western civilization. Among these will be the use of money and the adoption of modern methods of credit. Wherever a railway is in process of construction, coined money will be required for buying the products of the country and paying wages. Wherever a railway is in operation, money will be the only practicable medium for paying freights. Hence, railway extension will open new fields for the use of money, and introduce masses of the Chinese people to the commercial habits of the West. One of the next logical steps, therefore, in the opening of China to Western civilization, will be the adoption of a national system of currency.

China has at present no national currency. So far as coined money is used at all, it consists of foreign coins. The Mexican silver dollar has been for three centuries current on the seaboard. Recently it has encountered competition from the British dollar of the same weight and value, coined at Bombay, and from the French piastre, also of the same weight and value, coined at Paris for the use of the French possessions in Indo-China. But in the interior of the Celestial Empire coined money is not used at all. There is a medium of exchange, however, in the form of copper cash and silver shoes or sycee, the latter being cut into parts to meet the needs of different transactions.

The people of the interior of China, probably, have not yet realized the extent to which the lack of coined money hampers the development of trade. On the seacoast, however, another element has entered into the problem, which is stimulating the demand, even among the Chinese merchants, for sweeping reform in the monetary system. This element is the frequent change in

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the gold price of silver bullion. All the silver coins in use in China circulate substantially for their bullion value and upon the silver basis. For many years the disadvantages of the fall of silver were felt in China; but they have become acute during the past two years, when silver fell from about 30¼ pence per ounce in the summer of 1900 to about 25 pence in the autumn of that year, and again from that figure to 21 5-16 pence in November of 1902. The last fall produced a paralyzing effect upon the import trade of both foreign and Chinese merchants doing business in China, and, by reducing the gold value of the public revenue, crippled the government in its ability to meet the indemnity payments to the Powers.

When Mexico, therefore, appealed to China to co-operate in seeking some remedy for the fluctuations of exchange with the gold countries, she received a prompt response. Mexico has been progressing rapidly in recent years. This progress has been interpreted by some of the ardent friends of silver as due to the monetary standard rather than to the energy of the people, the extension of railways, the abolition in 1896 of tariff barriers between the States, and the many other economic and political reforms introduced by President Diaz and the group of able men around him. Mexico has begun to recognize, however, the great disadvantage of a monetary standard which differs from that of the commercial countries with which she deals. Not only is her import and export trade seriously hampered, but hundreds of millions of capital which would eagerly be invested in the extension of her railways and the development of her lead and copper mines are withheld, because of the fear that if converted from gold into silver its gold value might fall to a point which would extinguish even very considerable silver profits.

Mexico and China, therefore, joined, in January last, in asking the United States to aid them in presenting to other governments the question of securing stability of exchange between the currencies of the gold-standard and of the silver-using countries. President Roosevelt, under the authority of Congress, responded by the appointment of a commission, composed of Hugh H. Hanna, Charles A. Conant and Jeremiah W. Jenks, which has recently concluded its presentation of the subject to the European Powers having large commercial interests in the Chinese Empire.

The first aim of the American and Mexican Commissions has

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been to put China upon the gold standard. They recognized from the first that such a policy was surrounded by difficulties, but they believed those difficulties could be overcome by patience, energy and skill. The lack of any national monetary system whatever in China, while an obstacle in some ways to the introduction of a new system, is in other ways an advantage. The Chinese Government escapes the burden which it would be compelled to assume if it had to undertake, as Russia did in 1894 or as Spain is trying to do at the present time, to raise a great mass of depreciated paper or silver to a fixed gold par. For China there is no such problem, because her government is not responsible legally or morally for the coins of foreign countries in circulation in her seaports. She is undoubtedly bound by the highest considerations of financial policy not to take any step which will paralyze commerce and destroy confidence, but this she will be able to do, under intelligent management, without assuming the burden of redeeming at an enhanced gold value the money now in circulation.

Another element of difficulty in the introduction of a new system into China lies in the privileges now enjoyed by the viceroys in regard to coinage and by the local Chinese bankers in drawing profits from the exchange of moneys. In the introduction of a national monetary system, it is essential that the right to coin and issue money shall be concentrated in the hands of the central government. The power of the viceroys, however, is too great to allow of their privileges being taken away abruptly and without their consent. Fortunately for the future of China, the viceroys in several of the leading provinces are now men of ability, foresight and patriotism, and are themselves likely to aid powerfully in giving China the benefits of a national monetary system. Through reorganization of the taxes and perhaps the payment of commissions in distributing the new money, some compensation for taking away the right of coinage can be made, which will prevent heavy loss of revenue by the viceroys in the early stages of the new system. The local bankers, who make large profits by the exchange of the silver sycee and the copper cash, might also oppose the new system if similar compensation were not made to them in the distribution of the new currency.

The attitude of the foreign banks doing business in China is an important factor in the introduction of a new monetary system. They have made great profits during the last few years by

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the fluctuations in the exchange with European countries and with the United States. It might seem that the foreign bankers would hesitate to renounce these profits and would oppose the introduction of a uniform monetary system. The more the subject has been discussed, however, the more the bankers have realized that enlightened self-interest, as well as sound public policy, demands a system which will reduce the fluctuations of exchange to the usual limitations between gold countries. On the Commissions appointed to meet the Mexican and American Commissions at London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg sat representatives of the great banks doing business in the Orient,—the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank for Great Britain, the Bank of Indo-China for France, the German-Asiatic Bank for Germany, and the Russo-Chinese Bank for Russia. These gentlemen all agreed that the gold standard for China was ultimately desirable and that measures should be taken as soon as practicable to put it into effect. They appeared to be influenced by the consideration, that what tended to China's industrial development would eventually benefit those who conducted her banking business.

If the new standard were to go into effect within ninety days throughout the Empire, undoubtedly losses to the banks would occur, so heavy as to cause them to hesitate from motives of self-preservation to see it established. It is clear, however, that even if difficulties give way with unexpected ease, its introduction must be gradual. Introduced probably at first in the cities of the coast, where coin is already familiar to the people, it will be extended through one coast province to another, and will then make its way into the interior, as the people there find how much more convenient are coins of uniform size and ascertained value than the silver bullion which has to be weighed and assayed every time it is used. Exchange between the cities on the coast and the interior will continue to fluctuate, and the banks will continue to derive profits from this source and from others related to the introduction of the new system while they gradually readjust their methods to the new economic future of China, which will grow out of the extension of railways, the introduction of foreign capital and the expansion of her import and export trade.

What is meant by introducing the gold standard into China deserves explanation. Upon its face the proposition appears to

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many persons to be impracticable. If China were to acquire a gold currency of three dollars *per capita,* which is about one-tenth the monetary stock of the people of the United States, her population of 400,000,000 would require $1,200,000,000 of gold. This would mean a draft upon the world's gold resources equal to one-quarter of the entire existing stock. The rich nations of Europe and America would undergo a monetary crisis if such a demand were successfully made upon them; and the financial resources of China would be utterly incapable of making such a demand successfully upon nations so strong financially and so vitally interested in keeping their gold. In short, China could not get the gold.

How, then, is China to set up the gold standard? Can she have a gold standard without a gold circulation? If this question had been asked a generation or two ago, without the experience of many nations in recent years, it would probably have received an emphatic negative. Fortunately, however, the question has been answered in many lands under diverse conditions in a manner which justifies a decisive answer in the affirmative. British India has to-day a gold standard without a gold currency; the Netherlands have had for thirty years a gold standard without a gold currency. Belgium is in nearly the same position. France has now a considerable stock of gold, but since 1875 she has maintained at gold par several hundred millions of silver. The United States have done the same thing. Their $650,000,000 in silver, if sold in the bullion market at present prices, would net about $300,000,000. The difference between the face value and the bullion value represents the power of certain economic laws to maintain a token currency at par with gold.

Three means may be counted upon to maintain a silver currency at par with gold. These are:

(1) Limitation of the quantity of coinage;

(2) Acceptance of the coins at gold par for public dues, and in execution of ordinary contracts in legal-tender money;

(3) The maintenance of a gold reserve or gold exchange funds.

The limitation of the coinage in itself goes far to maintain the value of a currency. There is always a certain demand for legal-tender money, partly for settling the customary transactions of retail trade; partly for the payment of more formal contracts for longer terms; and partly for reserves of banks and merchants

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likely to be called upon to make money payments. It is upon the principle that a certain proportion of legal-tender money will be required even under the most adverse conditions, that the Bank of England is allowed to issue over £16,000,000 in bank-notes without any metallic reserve. In the revision of the charter of the Bank of England in 1844, stress was laid upon the point that the limit of "uncovered issues" (not protected by any metallic reserve) should be fixed at the minimum of the demand for bank-notes as shown by the previous history of the circulation. Within such limits it may fairly be argued that the money issued will not return to the issuer for redemption, because it will be constantly required for carrying on the internal trade of the country. This principle of scarcity is a potent factor in keeping up the value of money, but is far from being satisfactory as the sole method of governing the money of a country. If the principle is carried too far, it makes money scarce and interest rates high; if it is not carried far enough, it fails to maintain absolute parity by permitting the quantity of currency at times to exceed the demand.

The acceptance of money for public dues goes far to maintain its value, if it is not issued in excess. This was demonstrated by the history of the first Treasury notes issued in the Civil War, which were made receivable for customs-duties at par with gold, a privilege which was refused to the later issues of greenbacks. There being a demand for a certain amount of money to pay customs-duties and these notes being the equivalent of gold for such payments, they could always command a gold price substantially fixed, so long as the supply was not beyond the demand for this purpose. The acceptance of any money for public dues constitutes a system of indirect redemption. So long as a vent can be found for the money at the custom-houses, at the post-offices, in the purchase of internal revenue stamps and at the tax-offices of city, state and nation, every holder of such money knows at least one place at which he can employ it at its full legal value. If the quantity, therefore, is not far beyond requirements for public dues and retail trade, this system of indirect redemption is an important factor in keeping up the value of the money.

These two principles,—limitation of the coinage and acceptance for public dues,—have been the controlling factors in keeping up the value of the silver coins of the United States and of all the countries of the Latin Union, since their value as bullion

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fell below gold par in the early seventies. They do not in themselves, however, afford the complete guaranty of stability which is required in a sound monetary system. The third and conclusive method is the maintenance of a gold fund, to take up any excess which may develop in the volume of local currency. Whenever an excess appears in the currency of a country, that excess tends to go to other countries where it is likely to earn a higher return. The only money which is thus accepted abroad among commercial nations to-day is gold. A nation, therefore, which proposes to maintain its currency at absolute equality with gold, must face the necessity of furnishing gold on demand for export. This is, perhaps, the most vital principle in the maintenance of a gold standard,—that, while tokens and instruments of credit serve well the purposes of interior circulation, they must respond to the touchstone of exchangeability with gold to meet demands abroad.

Inasmuch, however, as the demand for gold is a demand for the use of the metal in other countries rather than at home, such a demand will be effectively met by furnishing the gold at the points where it is intended to be delivered. What has been done by the Government of the Philippine Islands is to establish a gold fund in New York, against which drafts can be delivered entitling the holder to gold at New York. It is a similar policy which is proposed by the Government of Mexico in establishing its monetary system upon stable foundations. It is a similar policy which will be recommended to the Government of China as a means of securing the gold standard. If gold funds are kept at the leading financial centres, — London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg and New York,—drafts can be sold upon these funds whenever there is a demand for gold for making payments abroad.

There is one essential condition to the successful operation of this system. This is that whenever drafts are sold for local currency, the local currency paid for them shall be locked up and withdrawn from circulation. This operates to reduce the redundancy of the currency at home, to stiffen the rates for interest, and ultimately to influence the prices of commodities in a downward direction. Hence, the new system will operate under this arrangement with the same automatic precision, in regulating the volume of the currency, as in a country with a gold currency, like Great Britain, where the withdrawal of gold reduces the volume of the circulation, and by making money scarce reacts upon the

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rates of interest. When these operations have produced their effect and there comes later a renewed demand for currency at home, that demand can be met by the deposit of gold in the reserves at the leading centres, thus replenishing the stocks reduced by the previous demands, and releasing local currency to meet the demands for increased circulation. This is substantially the plan which has been in successful operation in British India, where rupees are paid out at a fixed rate for the gold coin of Great Britain.

Upon a plan like this, tending to unify the currency of China and bring her into the circle of the great commercial nations, the Mexican and American Commissions on International Exchange secured the substantial agreement of all the great Powers of Europe. That a national currency was desirable and that the only practicable means of attaining it was through a gold exchange standard, substantially on the lines above set forth, was the unanimous expression of the Commissions appointed at London, Paris, The Hague, Berlin and St. Petersburg. The only difference of opinion upon the currency of China developed over the question, whether it was preferable to adopt a currency fixed from the beginning at a definite relation to gold, or to saturate the country with a uniform silver currency first, and afterwards take steps to raise it by degrees, by government and banking control over the exchanges, to a fixed gold value. The former plan was uniformly presented and urged by the Mexican and American Commissions, and the principle was endorsed in France, Germany, and Holland. The latter plan was considered somewhat more practicable in England and Russia.

The ultimate decision of the question will undoubtedly be made upon the ground, in China. In order that it may be presented properly to the Chinese Government, Professor Jenks, a member of the American Commission, is now on his way to China bearing credentials from President Roosevelt. If careful examination shows that the inauguration of the gold standard from the outset, on the basis of the Philippine currency, is surrounded by too many difficulties, then the other plan may be considered; but the American Commission was strengthened rather than weakened in their position by the discussions which took place at the various capitals. They strongly believe that no system should be inaugurated in China which does not provide at the outset for

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definite steps towards giving the currency a fixed relation to gold. It was for the purpose of securing stability of exchange that they were appointed, and that purpose they have steadily kept in view in their discussions with the representatives of other governments. In any case, they have the full approval of every leading Power for presenting to China the subject of giving uniformity and stability to her currency at the earliest practicable moment.

Subordinate to the fundamental proposition of giving stability to the currency of China was the subject of approximate uniformity in the currencies of other Oriental countries and dependencies. The Mexican and American Commissions suggested that the silver coins to be issued in Oriental countries preparing to reorganize their monetary systems, should be issued at a ratio of about 32 to 1. This ratio was chosen for the Philippines because it corresponded roughly to the market price of silver, but left a sufficient margin between the face value and the bullion value of the new coins for fluctuations in the price of the metal. It is obvious that if a coin were adopted which represented the gold price of silver at a given moment, and silver should afterwards rise in price, the silver coins would become more valuable as bullion than as coins. They would go to the melting-pot, and the country would be denuded of its currency. For this reason, a margin of about fifteen per cent. between the bullion value of the coins and the value given them by law was adopted in the Philippines, and has caused no difficulties in the acceptance of the coins at their full face value. The Government of Mexico contemplates a similar ratio, and its wisdom was approved by the Governments of Great Britain and France, which are preparing to give a fixed gold value to their currencies in the Straits Settlements and Indo-China.

So frequently has the word "ratio" been used as a part of the nomenclature of bimetallism, that it is important to state that it is not used in such a relation here. It is not intended, by adopting a ratio in China or the Straits, to attempt to fix the gold price of silver bullion at that ratio. The ratio is simply a relation chosen for convenience between the weight of metal in the gold unit and that in the silver coins. It is not a relation of value. It is in the power of governments, within certain limits, to fix the value of coins, not of commodities. They can do this in the case of coins by taking into their own hands the control of the

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supply in relation to the demand, and by offering to take care of the supply when it exceeds demand by taking it from the holder for gold. Only in this sense has a ratio been recommended.

Upon the relation of these measures to the price of silver bullion, it is proper to say a word. Misapprehension has arisen in some quarters in the United States upon this subject, and some criticisms have been pronounced upon the Mexican and American Commissions on the ground that they were trying to "do something for silver." It would seem that the previous record of the members of the American Commission, as consistent advocates of the gold standard, should have protected them from the imputation of such absurd projects as were occasionally attributed to them. They were instructed to labor to secure stability of exchange between the gold countries and the silver-using countries. That such stability could be secured permanently by any other means than the adoption by the silver countries of the gold standard was never for a moment contemplated.

It is not practicable, in the opinion of the American Commission, to seek stability for silver, under present conditions, through any of the methods pursued under the name of bimetallism. All that was attempted was to ask those governments, which had occasion to make purchases of silver from time to time for their subsidiary currency or for their dependencies, to so distribute such necessary purchases in regard to time as to diminish the irregularity of their demands. The object of such a policy would not be to raise the price of silver, but simply to average the price by averaging the purchases. Such a policy could not be counted upon in itself to prevent the downward course of silver, if this downward course was the result of permanent economic causes. In so far as it might prevent an abnormal rise at one time and an abnormal fall at another, producing approximation at all times towards the mean price instead of violent movements up and down, such a policy would contribute primarily towards the stability of silver bullion. What is much more important, it would contribute towards the stability of exchange between the gold countries and the silver-using countries. All that was suggested on this point, however, was subsidiary to placing China upon a definite gold basis. The views of the Mexican and American Commissions elicited at every capital, but one, where the subject was considered, the cordial approval of the Foreign Commissions,

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and their declaration that, so far as fiscal conditions permitted, they would be governed in future by the policy of regularity of purchases.

The ultimate aim of the project of putting China and other silver-using countries upon the gold standard is to promote the commerce of the world. The United States are interested in this object in a particular sense and in a general sense. In a particular sense, they have to consider the trade of the Philippine Islands with China and with other silver-using countries in the Orient. The trade of the Philippines is already larger with gold countries than with silver countries, because the gold countries include British India, Australia and Japan, from whom are bought many of the necessaries of life used in the Philippines. If the other countries of the Orient, including not only China, but the English and French possessions, go upon the gold standard, it will facilitate the trade of those countries with the Philippines to the mutual benefit of all.

It is in the broader general sense of promoting her own export trade, however, that the United States is perhaps more keenly interested than any other country, with the possible exception of Great Britain, in giving stability to exchange with China. How important is stability of exchange in promoting trade, is known best to those merchants who have suffered the effects of fluctuation in wiping out their profits and driving them into the dangerous field of speculation in exchange. Between two gold-standard countries, importer and exporter can count with certainty upon getting a full return in gold for the goods which they sell. In trade between gold and silver countries, either the exporter from the gold country or the importer in the silver country runs serious risk of finding his profits wiped out by a fall in the gold value of silver. If a consignment of merchandise worth $1,000 in gold had arrived in Shanghai in July, 1902, when the price of silver was 24 3-16 to 24 9-16 pence, it would have brought in silver about 2310 Mexican dollars. A gold bill of exchange for the settlement of the invoice would have cost this amount to the Chinese importer or to the foreigner carrying on import business in China. Only four months later, in November, 1902, silver fell to a minimum of 21 5-16 pence, and it would then have cost about 2700 Mexican dollars to buy a bill of exchange on London sufficient to settle the invoice. If the importer in China had in the

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mean time sold his goods at an estimated profit of ten per cent. on the silver price of July, he would have found 2540 Mexican dollars in his hands, or less by 160 dollars than the amount required to pay his invoice. Thus, he would be not only without profit, but would be a heavy loser in interest on his money and in the costs of distributing his goods.

Such conditions can only tend to bring trade to a standstill and to force both the exporter and importer to live from hand to mouth. More important, perhaps, with regard to the ultimate prosperity of both the gold and silver countries is the effect of unstable exchange upon the investment of capital. In Mexico it is estimated that $700,000,000 of American capital has already been invested for the extension of railways, the development of mines and the building of smelting works and factories. This process has recently been checked by the fluctuations in the gold value of silver. To a more marked degree has enterprise been checked in temporary loans. Capital in Mexico is still inadequate, and a Mexican banker can loan with prudence large sums for the development of the country at from 8 to 10 per cent. There are often times when he could get the money in Paris, Brussels or Berlin at 3 per cent., making five per cent. or more directly by reloaning it. But such loans must be repaid in gold within a short period. When the fall of silver within four months amounts to 20 per cent., a banker who should make loans, even upon the best security at the highest rates, would be courting ruin in borrowing a million francs in July at a silver cost of 460,000 Mexican dollars in silver, to repay which it would cost him in November 550,000 silver dollars. His profits in interest in six months would be 11,250 silver dollars; his loss, by the fall of exchange, in transferring the money back to Europe would be 90,000 silver dollars.

Thus, the borrower in a silver country can under present conditions look for no aid abroad. The promoter of new enterprises is prevented from taking any steps to develop the natural resources of the country. The loss is perhaps equally great to the owner of capital in the gold country, who could himself invest at a handsome profit in loans, in bills of exchange and in the shares of mines and railways in Mexico and China, if he could count upon a safe return. The rupture of the par of exchange between gold and silver countries has undoubtedly done much to divide the world into two halves,—those using gold and those using

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silver. It has tended to congest unused capital in the rich countries, with a depressing effect upon rates of interest, the return upon the investments of widows, orphans and those who hope to save a competence for old age, and has left the silver countries to struggle along with insufficient means for developing the treasures of nature which are locked in their soil. This rupture of the par of exchange was always one of the strongest arguments in favor of international bimetallism, but international bimetallism involved too great a reversal of the policy of the gold countries to be a workable remedy, even if it were in any sense a desirable one. The Commission on International Exchange are seeking a remedy along those lines, which, without impairing in any way the gold-standard system of the advanced countries, will make possible again the free flow of capital and enterprise between those countries and the undeveloped countries, whose virgin soil needs their touch to enter upon the great career of economic development which has marked the history of the gold-standard, machine-using, capitalistic countries during the past half century.

It was a high tribute to the disinterestedness of the United States that China should appeal to her for assistance in putting her monetary system on a sound basis. If Secretary Hay succeeds in carrying out the project for a uniform monetary system in China, he will add another shapely stone to the edifice of diplomatic triumphs which he has raised by securing the open door and protecting the integrity of China. The interest of Americans in China is simply to find wider markets. This is an interest which is consistent in every way with the progress and prosperity of China. Wide markets can best be found by increasing the purchasing power of the Chinese people. Increased purchasing power is the result of increased prosperity, of which a sound currency, as America herself has found to her cost, is a vital element. The fact that the United States were in a better position, perhaps, than any other country to take the lead in presenting the subject to China was freely acknowledged at many European capitals. It is to be hoped that the opportunity thus opened to enhance our national prestige, as well as to increase our commerce, will be accepted with the same foresight and enlightened courage which have marked the other measures of our policy in the Orient.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

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IS OUR NATIONAL CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE?

BY SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

UNDER constitutional government, it is the function of every parliamentary body to represent the people who create it. A parliamentary body which is not personally and politically representative of the constituency from which it is derived, is a malformation. Any parliamentary body which is really representative practically fulfills all the conditions as to composition which may be fairly expected of it. How does the Congress of the United States stand when tried by this test?

The answer to this question may be found, partly in a knowledge of the men who make up our national parliament, and partly in a knowledge of the people who elect them.

An affirmative answer does not mean that Congress is made up of the cream of the country. Our political machinery does not provide separators by which the cream always comes to the top, nor does the lack of such machinery mean that Congress is made up of skim milk. Neither the skim milk nor the cream would be fairly representative. In a democratic government,—which is the best of all governments, because the only true government is self-government—we cannot expect an aristocracy of intellect or of character to be always dominant. Aristocracy and kakistocracy are both foreign to the democratic method and idea. In a public assembly now as in Homeric times we must expect Thersites, the brawling demagogue, as well as Nestor, Odysseus, and Neoptolemus, wise in counsel or brilliant in debate. A public body would not be complete without them. The important thing is not that they shall be separated, but that they shall be kept together. In the long run we may be sure which of them will be dominant. It would be absurd, therefore, to characterize representative govern-

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ment as a failure because the ablest men, academically considered, are not always chosen by a community to represent it. Those who make such criticisms have rather in mind an aristocracy or an oligarchy, neither of which must be confounded with democracy. They overlook the fact, also, that the man who is academically the ablest may be politically and personally the weakest.

Compare now our representatives in Congress with the people who send them. The comparison to be satisfactory must be made with reference to nationality, age, occupation, education, character and personal ability. For the purpose of studying this question of representation, I have taken the last Congress, the Fifty-seventh. The House of Representatives was then composed of 357 members. Of these, 236 were lawyers, and 63 were business men in various mercantile pursuits, including banking, insurance and manufacturing. Agricultural interests were represented by ten farmers and by seven others who combined farming with some other occupation. If the number of farmers seems small to represent the agricultural interests of the country, it must be remembered that many rural communities choose lawyers who have been raised on a farm and represent agricultural sentiment, and also that a good many representatives are farmers' sons. As to teachers, there are eleven members of the House who have combined teaching with the study of law; one, teaching with banking; four have occupied professors' chairs in colleges or academies. Doubtless, a still larger number have taught school while pursuing their early studies.

In the Senate, out of a possible ninety members (though the occupations of but eighty-five are recorded), there are sixty-one lawyers, eighteen business men, and three farmers. Few doctors seem to take to public life. There is one physician in the House, and one who has combined the study of medicine with that of law. In the Senate, there are two who have similarly united these professions. Journalism does not furnish such an easy road to Congress as the law. There are nine journalists in the House, and three who have combined journalism with the study of law; in the Senate, one journalist and one journalistic lawyer. Senator Lodge has been included in the sixty-one lawyers in the Senate, but he must be put down more distinctively as a representative American author and historian, which profession has also the honor of being represented in the Presidential chair. The profes-

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sion which has the smallest representation in Congress, and just enough to be counted, is that of the ministry, there being but one minister in the House, and he is also professor and lawyer.

This classification of occupations does not exhaust the wide variety of pursuits that members of Congress have followed in the course of their lives, which include nearly all the more important callings represented in a civilized community. Their lives abound in picturesque and dramatic incidents, and it would be hard to find in the same number of persons a larger percentage of what are called "self-made men." Senator Perkins of California, when twelve years old went to sea as a cabin-boy. In 1855, he shipped before the mast as a sailor-boy to California. He thus laid the foundation for his successful business career and wide knowledge of shipping interests of the Pacific coast. Representative Loud, born in Massachusetts, likewise went to sea at the age of thirteen, and landed in California. Senator Pettus of Alabama, on the other hand, went with a party of his neighbors to California on horseback. Mr. Needham was born in an immigrant wagon in Carson City while his parents were crossing the Plains. Mr. Robinson of Indiana was a newsboy in his school days, then worked in a shop and studied law while at work. Mr. Smith of Illinois and Mr. Butler of Missouri learned the blacksmith trade. Messrs. Hepburn, Weeks, and Glass, and Senator Gallinger worked in printing-offices. Mr. Champ Clark worked as a hired farm-hand, was clerk in a country store, edited a country newspaper and practised law. Mr. Robinson of Nebraska was a workman in a hinge factory. Mr. Gardner of New Jersey was a waterman until the age of sixteen. Mr. Connell of Pennsylvania, who is one of the largest individual owners in the Wyoming coal region, worked in the mines as a driver-boy for seventy-five cents a day. Mr. Patterson of Pennsylvania was a travelling salesman in hardware, flour and feed. Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania was employed in a brass-foundry. Senator Bate of Tennessee served as second clerk on a steamboat. Mr. Brownlow of Tennessee earned his support from ten years of age, serving an apprenticeship to the tinner's trade, then becoming a locomotive engineer, and then entering journalism and becoming editor and proprietor. Mr. Kearns of Utah for several years carried goods from the end of the railroad in Nebraska to the mining and cattle camps in Utah. Mr. Swanson of Virginia served for two years as clerk in a store.

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Mr. Cushman of Washington worked as waterboy, on a railroad, also as common laborer and errand-boy. Mr. Kahn of California entered the theatrical profession after leaving school and followed it for ten years, playing with Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Salvini, Clara Morris and others. Senator Patterson worked in a printing-office for three years, and at the bench of a watchmaker and jeweller for five years. Mr. Sperry of Connecticut is by trade a house-builder. Mr. Hitt of Illinois was a stenographer. Mr. Gooch of Kentucky entered the drug business at the age of seventeen. Senator Wellington at the age of twelve began working in a canal store in Maryland, and Mr. Wachter of Baltimore learned the trade of clothing-cutter and afterwards engaged in the business. Mr. Otjen of Wisconsin was foreman in a rolling-mill, and Mr. Minor of Wisconsin was a licensed master of steam vessels. Of the Territorial delegates, Mr. Rodey of New Mexico was a court stenographer; Mr. Wilcox of Hawaii is a native Hawaiian, his mother being a pure native of the island of Maui. He received his education at the Royal Military Academy of Turin, Italy, was a leader in two revolutions in Hawaii, both in favor of monarchical government. He was sentenced to death by a court-martial under the Dole Government, but his sentence was commuted to thirty-five years imprisonment and hard labor and a fine of $10,000. In 1898 he received a full pardon and was elected to Congress in 1900.

Sixty-nine members of the House have served in the army and twenty-six members of the Senate. Of these, fourteen in the Senate and twenty in the House served in the Confederate army. Senator Pettus of Alabama served as a lieutenant in the Mexican War, and Senator Bate as a private.

Thus it will be seen that, in spite of the natural preponderance of lawyers in a law-making body, the industrial, mercantile, agricultural, mechanical and professional interests of the United States are all represented in the national parliament; that it epitomizes in an unusual degree the picturesque history of the great body of what may be called "representative Americans."

Turning now to age, the Senate of the United States fulfils the condition of maturity necessary for eligibility to the Spartan Gerousia (from γέρων) and the Latin Senatus (from *Senex*), both of which took their names from the old men who composed them. The average age of eighty-five Senators (four of the

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ninety not giving their ages) is sixty years, exactly the period which Cotton Mather indicated as the beginning of old age. There are seventeen Senators over seventy years of age; of these, seven are over seventy-five years. Of Senators in the sixties there are twenty-six; in the fifties, twenty-three; in the forties, thirteen. The youngest member, Senator Bailey of Texas, is forty years old, and there are three other Senators each of whom is forty-one years of age.

In the House the average age was forty-eight. There were seven members over seventy, the oldest of whom, ex-Speaker Grow, is eighty. Fifty-four are in the sixties, 104 in the fifties, 128 in the forties, and but twenty-nine between thirty and forty years of age. There are three members twenty-eight years of age, Mr. Lever of South Carolina being the youngest member of the House by a few months.

Thus it will be seen that the great majority of our national councillors are in middle life, representing neither immaturity nor decay. And, perhaps, no national body represents greater variety of experience and fortune among its members than the Congress of the United States.

As to education, forty members of the Senate are college graduates, three of them from Harvard, four from Yale and the rest from smaller and younger colleges throughout the country. Their biographies show that, with few exceptions, their early education was received in American common schools. The same is true of members of the House, of whom 139 are graduates of colleges or of the law departments of universities.

Thirty-seven Senators were born in the States which they represent. Naturally, these are Senators from the older States; some of the Western States are still too young to raise Senators on their own soil. Of foreign-born Senators, one was born in Ireland, one in England, three in Canada, and one in Norway. Of members of the House (the birthplace of several is not recorded), one was born in Scotland, three in Ireland, two in Canada, two in Germany, four in England, one in Alsace, one in the Azores, and two were born in Germany while their parents were temporarily abroad. Of the Territorial delegates, one was born in Hawaii, one in Ireland, and the resident commissioner from Puerto Rico, Mr. Degetau, was born in that island.

One is surprised, perhaps, at the small number of representa-

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tives born out of the United States; and, when the large foreign population of the United States is considered, critics of representative government may claim that foreign-born citizens have not their full share in the administration of national affairs. The answer to this, however, is, that our foreign-born citizens are represented largely and adequately by their children. Thus, though in the House no member was born in Sweden or Norway, there are four members born of Scandinavian parents and representing constituencies largely made up of Scandinavians in the West. The parentage of all members is not given in the Congressional Directory. If it were, I am confident that a large number of members would be found to be of foreign parentage. The cry is not raised in these days that the naturalized citizen is not represented, and, fortunately, Knownothingism, which assumed that the foreigner was too much represented, has disappeared from American politics.

That the representation of our States and political divisions in Congress is reasonably satisfactory to their constituents is shown by the repeated terms of service of members in both Houses of Congress. It is too commonly assumed that representation is constantly shifting. This is true in some of our cities and in close districts where political parties are nearly equally divided; but, taking the country as a whole, the stability of representation is something remarkable, especially when we consider the shortness of the term, but two years in the House, and the frequent opportunity thus furnished for constituencies to change their representatives if they desire.

Of 357 members (actually 352) of the Fifty-seventh Congress, but eighty-nine were new members, 79 were serving their second term and 76 their third; 108 members, or thirty per cent., were serving four terms and upwards; 69 members, or nineteen per cent., served in Congress ten years.

The showing as to terms of service of individual members would be still stronger if we took the record for the Fifty-eighth Congress to be convened in extra session in November; for 250 members of the Fifty-seventh Congress were re-elected to the Fifty-eighth.

If we take the profession farthest removed from politics, and which is represented in Congress by a single member, that of the Christian ministry, should we find that the tenure of service in

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the ministry is as long as it is in the House of Representatives? Should we find, for example, that thirty per cent. of our ministers had served eight years and upwards in their parishes? When we remember that one of the great Christian bodies of the country for years maintained the doctrine that ministers should change their pulpits every two or three years, and it has been said—though I have never verified the figures—that the average length of Protestant pastorates, taking the ministry as a whole, is not more than five years, it may be affirmed that our political bodies are not more fickle in changing leaders than our churches.

In the Senate, a large number of members have served previously in the House. Senator Teller has served six terms in the Senate and three as a Cabinet officer; Senator Platt of Connecticut, four terms in the Senate. Senator Hawley has served three terms in the House, and is serving his fourth term in the Senate. Senator Allison was a representative for five terms in the House, and has been a member of the Senate since 1873, a period of thirty years. Senator Hale of Maine served five terms in the House, and has been a member of the Senate since 1881. His colleague, Senator Frye, served six terms in the House, and has likewise served in the Senate since 1881. Senator Hoar served four terms in the House, and has been in the Senate since 1877. Senator Burroughs of Michigan served nine terms in the House before taking his seat in the Senate in 1895. Senator Cockrell has been in the Senate since 1875. Senator Jones of Nevada, who has just retired, served for thirty years. Senator Stewart, after serving for ten years in the Senate from 1865 to 1875, re-entered it in 1881, his length of service covering twenty-six years. Senator Morgan of Alabama has served for twenty-six years. Senator Jones of Arkansas has just retired from the Senate after a service of eighteen years. His colleague, Senator Berry, has served an equal length of time, and his term will not expire until 1907. Senator Cullom has been in public service, partly in his own State and partly as representing it at Washington, for forty-seven years. He was four times elected to the Illinois Legislature, beginning in 1856, and served one term as Speaker of that body; he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1865, served for two years as Governor of Illinois, and in addition has been in the United States Senate for twenty years. Senator Vest served twenty-four years, and Senator Daniel of Virginia has served sixteen years.

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What shall be said as to the character of our public men? As to morals, standards of taste, and personal habits, they represent as fairly as in political sentiment the communities that send them. In communities where there is any weakness or indifference in this respect, such weakness or indifference may very likely appear in the representative; communities in which these qualities are strong and high naturally expect them in their representative, and feel that unless he embodies them they are misrepresented. Under conditions of apathy which too frequently prevail in electors, men who are below the moral standard of their districts may slip into Congress and disgrace themselves and their constituents. But such men are not kept there; the indignant moral sentiment of the community is pretty sure to assert itself and dislodge the incumbent. Neither of the great political parties in this country generally cares to incur the chance of defeat by putting up for high national office a man whose character can be successfully attacked in public.

The odor of a single unsavory reputation in a public body frequently creates the impression of general corruption and moral decay, and there are people who apply a standard of moral severity to such bodies which would break down if applied to the Twelve Apostles. In that illustrious group of disciples there was one liar and one traitorous thief, two out of twelve. There are ninety men in the Senate, 386 in the House under the new apportionment. Applying the same standard, we should expect to find fifteen liars and thieves in the Senate and sixty-four in the House. But what pessimist in regard to our public men will maintain that there is any such proportion of black sheep in the national folds at Washington?

As to veracity, there is no club in the country which exacts any higher standard for its members than prevails in Congress; there is nothing about which a public man is generally more sensitive. The two breaches of order which have broken the decorum of each House in the last five years have arisen because veracity was questioned.

As to personal honesty and honesty in handling or appropriating public funds, our national parliament illustrates and maintains the high standard of honesty of the American people, the same standard upon which the whole fabric of industrial and commercial enterprise is built up in the United States and in our

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modern civilization. If we wished to find in all the United States two men who should embody the highest ideals of honesty and conscientious, patriotic disposition of public money, where could we turn with more confidence and satisfaction than to the men who, for the last thirty years, one in the Senate and one in the House, have devoted themselves to public affairs, and for a large portion of their time have been Chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, William Boyd Allison in the Senate, and Joseph G. Cannon in the House. There is no position in which a man could have better opportunity to grow rich at the public expense through bribery and jobbery than that of holding the strings of the public purse in the House and the Senate. Yet the men who for years have administered this trust have remained comparatively poor, while in administering private interests the same intelligence and knowledge as they have brought to bear upon public affairs would have made them both immensely rich. The same may be said of the minority leaders on those committees, Mr. Cockrell in the Senate and Mr. Livingston in the House.

The question is often raised as to how the Congress of the United States of to-day, in all that affects character and ability, will compare with those of the past.

With respect to corruption, a comparison can be made with the greatest confidence and with the greatest satisfaction. Senator Hoar has drawn a picture of the conditions which prevailed when he entered public life in 1869. I have no space to quote it, and it is somewhat melancholy reading. It was a bold and brave protest against shameless corruption in public office. It is more satisfactory to quote from a speech of the same Senator, in which he said:

> "When I came into the national service in 1869, all avenues to this and the other chamber and to every executive department were swarming with a powerful and corrupt lobby. That lobby has disappeared before an aroused and vigorous public sentiment. Who hears now of great measures of legislation promoted or affected in Congress by corrupt instrumentalities? . . . These great evils, one and all, have been corrected by the American people with the abundant resources which, under their existing constitutions, were at their command. Other evils, as grave, but not graver, demand our attention to-day. These evils will in their turn disappear when brought into the daylight before the intelligence and the justice of the American people."

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The opinion of Senator Hoar will be supported, I think, by all who have occasion to compare the conditions and standards existing thirty years ago and those of to-day.

With respect to the standard of ability, I am led personally to make a comparison in the same period of thirty years. As a newspaper correspondent at Washington more than thirty years ago, I had a good opportunity to study public men at a period when a great crisis in our history had brought many of the strongest men to the front. If there were giants in those days there are giants in ours. There has been no diminution in the intellectual stature of this battalion of our public men. As to particular districts in the House, and certain States in the Senate, a comparison of past and present might be unfortunate; but, taking both bodies as a whole, there has been no abatement in intelligence, knowledge, practical sagacity, statesmanlike grasp of public questions or brilliancy in oratory. After going through the list of States and districts past and present, I find not the slightest reason to believe that the Congress of 1871 was any stronger than the Congress of 1900.

If asked how our American Congress will compare with European parliaments in point of ability, I may say that three times I have had the personal honor, by virtue of membership in the House of Representatives, to represent this country in the International Parliamentary Union, when it held sessions in Paris, Brussels and Christiania. I have thus been brought into contact, on each of these occasions, with three hundred and fifty or more representatives of European members of parliament. Gathered together in the interest of peace through arbitration, they have represented the most progressive elements in European politics. I regretted that Mr. Bartholdt and myself should have been the sole delegates from the United States, for I felt that the only gap between European representatives of constitutional government and our own was the gap made by the ocean. In point of linguistic facility, the representatives of polyglot countries, like Switzerland, Austria or Belgium, are much ahead of our own; but in everything else which goes to make up the qualifications of a good representative, I have failed to mark any important difference, except those differences of method and tradition which mark the difference between Europe and America. Senator Hoar very confidently says:

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"I am not afraid and ashamed to invite a comparison of the men who have sat in these seats and represented my own commonwealth, down to the date when the present Senators took their places, with any line of dukes, barons, or princes, or emperors, or popes, who have successively filled the seats of any legislature or the executive chair of any commonwealth, whether these persons held their titles by virtue of noble descent or royal favor or of the favor of the people themselves."

It is rarely that we find in Congress a man who is below the average of his constituents in ability, as frequently occurs in a parliamentary chamber admission to which is an inherited privilege. It is seldom that a man is chosen for the American Congress out of respect to his father or grandfather; he is sent there because of some force of personality or gift of popularity depending upon his own characteristics. But of men who are above the average of their constituents in intellectual power and force of personality, many can be found in both Houses of Congress. It is interesting to notice, too, that while the arts of the demagogue may be influential in landing a man in Congress, they are not the arts which secure him leadership in that body. A recent illustration of this fact was furnished by the late Mr. Dingley. He was not a man of aggressive or imposing personality. He was small of stature, and weak in voice. Though he sat in the middle of the hall, he could not be heard half the time by those in the extremities. His speeches had none of the pleasing arts of the orator, he was not gifted with humor or eloquence, but he was a mine of information on the tariff, and he had a businesslike habit of stating his conclusions with definiteness, clearness and decision. The leadership and influence he exerted over his party gave proof that thorough information, a faithful memory, clear exposition and businesslike methods of address are more valued in the House of Representatives than rhetorical fervor or glittering generalities. There is no deliberative body in the world in which shallowness, conceit, ignorance and pretension are more rapidly exposed. A man must know something about his theme; he must be prepared to stand a Gatling-gun fire of questions. The set speeches that are made for the Congressional Record and for home consumption may be dressed up with the pomp and glory of a drum-major, but such speeches never make votes, and often the House is half empty when they are delivered. When the House settles down to business in Committee of the Whole, and speeches are made at short

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range, it is the point-blank aim and the well-loaded statement that take effect. Wit often scintillates and humor glows genially in these strenuous hours, but force and earnestness of conviction, here as everywhere, drive an argument home.

I have pointed out some of the virtues of American public men. What are their failings? I mean not individually, but as a class. Individually, of course, like 476 men anywhere, they have their personal weaknesses and foibles. And this will be just as true of the same number of clergymen, scholars or scientific men. If we seek a weakness which may be said to be composite or characteristic of them as a whole, we shall find it in the faults and weaknesses and limitations of the very system of representative government which creates them. It is their tendency to see their duty too much in relation to the needs of their district, too little in relation to the needs of the country as a whole. Hence is developed a certain provincialism and sectionalism. This is seen too frequently in our attitude towards foreign governments. The accomplished Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Hitt, and the Secretary of State often find this provincialism a serious obstacle in conducting international affairs. The provincial member is disposed to disregard international traditions, to wrap himself in the American flag, and conclude that we can get on without the rest of the world if the rest of the world can get on without us. But the extension of American markets abroad, the development of commercial relations, the passage of the United States from its traditional insularity in international affairs to a position of commanding power and influence are compelling broader and larger views of world problems.

As to the sectional spirit based on the points of the compass in our own land, it is rapidly disappearing. Conflicts of interest there will always be; but, as our country becomes more closely consolidated, the sectional view is giving way to the national. It was worth while being in the Fifty-fifth Congress if only to see the unanimity and patriotic fervor with which all sectional differences could be obliterated, on the memorable day when fifty millions of dollars were placed in the hands of the President for national defence.

Recurring, then, to the special question of this article, Is our national Congress truly representative? I reply that it is so just as far as it can be under existing laws or their imperfect opera-

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tion. The limitations which impress me at Washington are not the limitations of public men as a class, but the limitations of the electoral systems or prescriptions under which they are chosen. The most obvious limitations of these systems (for every State prescribes the qualifications of its electors, and these differ greatly) are, first, that the women of the United States, constituting numerically so large an element of the population and embodying so much of the intellectual and moral life of the country, are not adequately represented in our government, either local or national; secondly, that several millions of negroes are not represented in Congress by any members of their race. Neither color nor sex constitutes any rational basis for parliamentary representation, and in four of the States of the United States neither of them is regarded. In these States women may vote for the President of the United States and for their representatives in Congress, as well as for their local officers, and no color line is drawn in counting the ballot. If these conditions of justice and equality do not prevail throughout the country, it is due to local laws and traditions and to the miscarriage of justice in their administration. Congress, therefore, so faithfully reflects local usage and sentiment that it represents the defects and injustice of our electoral system as well as its excellencies.

A third limitation of our representative system is, that the man who is elected to the House does not take his seat until a year from the time in which he is chosen. In the lapse of twelve months, it is quite possible that the issue upon which he was elected has changed its character or given place to some other public question. It would be a great improvement if members of Congress would take their seats within a month or two after their election.

In the opinion of many public men, our national parliament would be still more representative if members of the Senate were elected by a direct vote of the people. Several State Legislatures have asked for this change and the House of Representatives has passed bills to this effect. The ultimate effect of such change, however, would probably be to destroy the equal representation of the States as separate political entities in the Senate, and the need of such a change in our constitutional law has not yet been demonstrated.

Making allowance for the limitations I have noticed in our

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electoral system and its administration, I do not hesitate to say that, taken by and large, and with all fair allowance for individual differences and for fluctuations of local standards, the Congress of the United States represents very fairly and accurately in its membership the great majority of the American people, though the statement would be still more accurate, when we consider the large number who are disfranchised, if I said the great majority of American voters.

The fountain cannot rise higher than its source. If our public men are not all that they should be, we must seek the cause in the standards of life, in the ideals of patriotism and public service of the people they represent. Though bribery and corruption have been banished from Congress they have not been banished from the polls; venality is still a crying sin in American politics. It is not merely the newest and most densely peopled States in which it is found. The smallest States in the Union, Delaware and Rhode Island, have been the theatres of political scandals as disheartening as any that have appeared in Montana or New York city. The difference between the negro in the South, who sells his vote for a glass of whiskey, and the New Hampshire farmer, who sells it for two dollars, is that one is a dry bribe and the other a wet one. No relief from such conditions can be expected until we develop a sentiment of patriotism which shall make it as dishonorable and outrageous for a man to sell his vote for money as to sell the virtue of his wife or daughter.

If vote-buying and vote-selling is one of our political evils, voluntary abstention from voting must be counted another. It is easy to see why the negro stays away from the polls in certain communities, when he knows that his ballot will not be counted if it is cast; but it is impossible to respect the patriotism of a man who deliberately counts himself out because he has no interest in securing good government or good men. And yet these absentees who stand aloof from what they call "the mire of politics," and do not lift their finger to lighten public burdens, are most ready to complain of the character of our public men.

Without respect to party, a loftier ideal of consecration to public service is animating and inspiring some of our national leaders; and I cannot better close this article than by quoting two memorable utterances in which it was embodied, both delivered on the same occasion, May 1st, 1903, at the dedication of the St.

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Louis Fair, the one the utterance of an ex-President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, and the other the utterance of Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States. Ex-President Cleveland said:

"We may well recall in these surroundings, the wonderful measure of prophecy's fulfilment within the span of a short century, the spirit, the patriotism and the civic virtue of Americans who lived a hundred years ago. And God's overruling of the wrath of man and his devious ways for the blessing of our nation. . . . Let us appreciate, more keenly than ever, how vitally necessary it is to our country's weal that every one within its citizenship should be clean-minded in political aim and aspiration, sincere and honest in his conception of our country's mission, and aroused to higher and more responsive patriotism by the reflection that it is a solemn thing to belong to a people favored of God."

President Roosevelt said:

"The old days were great because the men who lived in them had mighty qualities, and we must make the new days great by showing these same qualities. We must insist upon courage and resolution, upon hardihood, tenacity, and fertility in resource; we must insist upon the strong, virile virtues, and we must insist no less upon the virtues of self-restraint, self-mastery, regard for the rights of others; we must show our abhorrence of cruelty, brutality and corruption in public and private life alike.

"If we come short in any of these qualities we shall measurably fail. And if, as I believe we surely shall, we develop these qualities in the future to an even greater degree than in the past, then in the century now beginning we shall make of this republic the freest and most orderly, the most just and most mighty, nation which has ever come forth from the womb of time."

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE LATE LORD SALISBURY.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THERE may seem, at first sight, to be but little ground for the suggestion that a definite and significant connection existed between the United States and the eminent British statesman who died recently at Hatfield House. As a matter of fact, however, Lord Salisbury held the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs at various times during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in that capacity he took a leading part in shaping the relations of the United Kingdom to the great American Republic. At two memorable conjunctures he was both Foreign Secretary and Premier; and the somewhat unexpected policy which he chose to adopt had a direct, if not a decisive, effect upon the future of the English-speaking world. Moreover, Lord Salisbury personified, as no other man could personify, the remarkable change that has taken place during the last fifty years in the attitude of England's governing class toward the American people. He was a typical British aristocrat, and the ultimate transformation of his posture toward the United States must be regarded as a triumph of enlightenment and conviction over social and political prejudice.

Lord Robert Cecil entered Parliament seven years before the outbreak of our Civil War. The fact that he represented a historic family would not, we scarcely need to say, necessarily determine his course in the British legislature, for we have seen the son of a Duke become the head of the Liberal party, and the son of an Earl become a Socialist. Such exceptions, however, are rare. There is no doubt that Lord Robert Cecil, when he made his *début* in public life, was imbued with all the preconceptions, prepossessions and antipathies of his order, and that he retained

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most of them to the end of his career. Only as regards the United States and Russia did his opinions, if not his feelings, undergo a drastic modification. Like almost every other member of the British aristocracy, he viewed without regret, if not with positive complacency, the threatened disruption of the American Union, and made no effort to disguise his sympathy for the Confederate cause. He could see nothing majestic or beneficent in the Titanic efforts which brought about the abolition of slavery and the reconsolidation of the American Commonwealth. He long continued to regard our political institutions with aversion, and, during the debates which preceded the enactment of the second Reform Bill, held up to opprobrium the United States as a sinister example of the dangers of democracy. To his mind, as then constituted, no more fatal blunder could be made by his beloved country than to sanction a readjustment of her political system on the transatlantic pattern. He concurred with Robert Lowe in deeming the second Reform Act a suicidal concession to the proletariat, and in holding that nothing was left for the former governing class to do but to try to educate its masters. Nor, from his point of view, can we consider it at all surprising that in 1866-68, he almost detested the United States for the tremendous demonstration of strength which had refuted the principal argument against a democratic scheme of government.

Lord Salisbury differed essentially, however, from the hidebound and incorrigible Tories, of whom he was to become the leader, in that his mind was open to conviction. It was characteristic of his intellect that at Oxford he took but little interest in the classics, and contented himself with a mere pass degree in *litterae humaniores,* yet gained an honorary fourth-class in mathematics. Having mastered the higher mathematics, which constitute an indispensable instrument of exact inquiry, he proceeded to explore for himself many fields of scientific research, including particularly chemistry and physics. All his life, his leisure hours were devoted to independent investigation, so that the invitation to assume the Presidency of the British Association in 1894, when, it will be remembered, he was out of office, was but a just recognition of his solid scientific attainments. Now, it is obviously impossible for a man habitually engaged in scientific inquiry to remain impervious to evidence and argument. Prejudices he may still retain, but he will not suffer them to dominate

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his acts, especially when he finds himself clothed with immense responsibilities. No more signal proof of Lord Salisbury's openness to conviction could be given than the confession, publicly made by him a few years ago, that, during the last Russo-Turkish War, England had "backed the wrong horse." To appreciate the candor of that utterance, we have to recall the fact that, from 1874 to 1879, Lord Salisbury was far more intensely pro-Turkish than was Lord Derby, his predecessor in the Foreign Office, or even than Lord Beaconsfield himself. When he made that remarkable avowal, he had been for years Prime Minister, and subjected to the chastening and clarifying influence that is exercised by the consciousness of power on men of a certain intellectual stature.

The time came when a similar reversal was to be witnessed in Lord Salisbury's attitude toward the United States. It is true that from 1885, when he first became Prime Minister, up to December, 1895, there was no unmistakable indication that he had awakened to the importance of reconsidering and readjusting the relations of Great Britain to her colossal daughter-state. During the first part of the period named, the affairs of Ireland riveted his attention, and, subsequently, he paid but little heed to transatlantic questions, having his eyes fixed on Egypt, on South Africa and on the Far East. He allowed the correspondence with Secretary Olney on the Venezuela boundary controversy to be conducted in a perfunctory way, the Foreign Office taking it for granted that our mediation on behalf of the South-American republic was merely academic, and persisting, therefore, in its arrogant refusal to refer the dispute to arbitration. Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message, announcing that, since arbitration was refused, the United States would take upon themselves the task of investigating and determining the rightful boundary of Venezuela, gave an electric shock to Englishmen, and it is probable that none of his countrymen was more astounded than was the Prime Minister himself. Had Lord Salisbury at sixty-five been as irremediably steeped in Tory prejudices as he was thought to be, and had he been incapable of receding from the contemptuous or condescending attitude toward the United States which had been maintained by the British governing class for upwards of a hundred years, nothing could possibly have averted a war, which would have had calamitous consequences for one, if not for both, of the combatants. It is to Lord Salisbury's lasting honor that

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no gust of indignation or resentment prevented him from recognizing the gravity of the situation when the veil was torn rudely from his eyes. He perceived that the economical relations of his country to the great American Republic had become at the close of the nineteenth century fundamentally different from those which had existed at earlier epochs, and that for England to quarrel with her principal food-purveyor, for the sake of a wretched strip of land in South America, would be an act of madness. He put his pride in his pocket, and, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, informed our State Department that, in the Venezuela Boundary affair, he would accept the arbitration which only a few months before he had peremptorily refused. Seldom is it given to a statesman to render, at the galling sacrifice of personal dignity, so vast a service to his native land. That nothing might be wanting to make the sacrifice complete, Lord Salisbury, perhaps the proudest man in England, did not shrink at a later date from expressing publicly contrition for the course which he had mistakenly pursued in the Venezuela matter. Nor, indeed, is it England alone, but the whole English-speaking world, which has cause to rejoice that, in the memorable winter of 1895-96, the helm of the British ship of state was in the hands of a pilot to whom age had given wisdom, and in whom an unselfish patriotism had developed foresight at the nick of time.

There was nothing spiteful or mean in the inheritor and embellisher of the great traditions of the House of Cecil. Had a trace of vindictiveness remained in the disciplined heart of the veteran Prime Minister, had he permitted himself to bear a grudge toward the country which had subjected him to a humiliation none the less bitter because deserved, he might have recognized and turned to account the opportunity to retaliate which came in the spring of 1898. There is no doubt that some of the Continental Powers were then eager to interpose on behalf of the Madrid government, and to prohibit us from attempting the liberation of Cuba. Our navy made quick work of that of Spain, but it is ridiculous to suppose that it could have coped with the combined naval forces of France and Austria. Lord Salisbury had but to give France and Austria a free hand, in order to expose us to the dilemma of accepting a grievous affront, or confronting against great odds a war which would have placed in jeopardy our principal seaboard cities.

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We add that he had only to follow, instead of diverging sharply from, the traditional policy of Great Britain with reference to the Pearl of the Antilles. At the time of the "Virginius" affair, both the British and French Foreign Offices informed Secretary Fish that they could not regard the Cuban question as one which concerned Spain and the United States exclusively. It was this ominous notification which prevented President Grant from intervening in Cuba during the Ten Years' War. Now, had Lord Salisbury in 1898, when sounded officially or unofficially on the subject by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied that he saw no reason for departing from the position taken by his predecessor at the time of the "Virginius" affair, he could have avenged the personal indignity to which he had been subjected by the Venezuela message and have forced us to submit to the outrage inflicted on our national honor by the destruction of the "Maine."

It was not thus that Lord Salisbury understood the duty of a patriotic statesman. He forgot the personal annoyance of three years before, and thought only of his country. He grasped the truth that Fate had given him an opportunity of undoing all the blunders of a hundred years; of substituting confidence and gratitude for the distrust and aversion with which the American people, not unreasonably, had long regarded the British governing class. He seized the opportunity. He made known to the Continental Powers that England would not view with approval a concerted attempt to browbeat the United States. The intimation sufficed to nip the scheme of intervention in the bud. The war with Spain ensued, and was undoubtedly prosecuted on our part with admirable energy. When Americans and Cubans, however, reckon up the prizes of victory, they may do well to remember the broad-minded British statesman but for whose good-will these prizes could never have been gained.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

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AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS.

BY ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

When modern sculpture was betrayed by its leading figures, early in the nineteenth century, through their excessive devotion to the antique, a tradition was established which for a long time seemed beyond all chance of death or change. Canova and Thorwaldsen, in Rome, erected classical precedent into a fetish. In France, which was later to be the scene of a plastic renaissance, anything that savored of personal idiosyncrasy or of romantic feeling was anathema to the Emperor and to Louis David, who, though a painter, possessed unique authority in the direction of public taste in every field. American sculptors, proceeding to Italy for inspiration, were confronted by a kind of unwritten law which left inspiration, in the strict sense, outside the pale of respectable things. In the studios all over Europe masters and pupils were united on the principle that to be great it was absolutely necessary to be "grand," and for the true measure of the grand style they looked only to Greece. Surveying the earlier history of our own school, one is appalled by the damage suffered through this sheep-like adoption of a classic ideal, passionately worshipped but only half understood. It fell like a blight upon those well-meaning workmen, and though many of them lingered long upon the scene, their art, years ago, was dead as nail in door. Greenough, Hiram Powers, Thomas Crawford, William Henry Rinehart and the rest—as I recall the names I recall the lines in Henley's ballade:

> "As dust that drives, as straws that blow,
> Into the night go one and all."

It is just because these men, members of a group once powerful and famous, have since been so thoroughly discredited as art-

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ists, that it is interesting to revert to them in approaching the work of St. Gaudens. Only last July he unveiled his masterpiece, the equestrian statue of General Sherman, in New York. He is now in his prime. He is, by virtue of actual accomplishment, what even the best of his predecessors was only through the accident of chronology—a pioneer of American sculpture. The development of the art with us may fairly be said to date from his appearance. He is not only our greatest sculptor, but the first in our annals to break with the old epoch of insipid ideas and hide-bound academic notions of style, giving the art a new lease of life and fixing a new standard. All can raise the flower now, for all have got the seed. There are contemporaries of St. Gaudens who deserve honor, hardly less than he deserves it, for having breathed vitality into American sculpture. There was, for example, the late Olin Warner, who was born four years before St. Gaudens, and who exercised always an elevating influence. But Warner would probably have uttered with eagerness the tribute which the living sculptors in this country yield to St. Gaudens, testifying to the constructive part he has played, to the initiative which he took in the formation of our school.

He entered the field with the mixed racial equipment characteristic of so many distinguished Americans. His mother was an Irishwoman; his father was born in France. St. Gaudens himself, born in Dublin something less than fifty-six years ago, was brought to this country in his earliest childhood, and though he has spent more than one period abroad, he is as distinctly American in his art as though he had come from a long line of native ancestors. With a difference. He did not take up sculpture where Greenough and the others had left it, working on their foundation and transmogrifying their tradition. He showed his Americanism in striking out in a totally new vein and making his own tradition. Half Irish, half French, and wholly sympathetic to his environment, he was committed to American tendencies, not as an heir, with much to unlearn, but simply in so far as his genius inclined him to assimilate them. No American artist shows a greater freedom than he from what are generally called "early influences," and are specifically described as "So-and-So's manner." He was thirteen when he was apprenticed to a cameo cutter, and he spent several years at this craft; but I have never perceived in his sculpture anything to remind one of

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these beginnings. At night he studied art. Cooper Union and the Academy of Design were both useful to him at that period. Then, in his nineteenth year, he went to Paris, and at the École des Beaux-Arts profited by the teaching of Jouffroy, until the Franco-Prussian war broke out and he entered upon a three years' residence in Rome. In all that formative period he appears to have worked patiently toward the expression of a temperament which outside influences could stimulate but could not mould to their own likeness. He was perhaps fortunate in studying under Jouffroy, a safe master who, for all his classicism, was nevertheless near enough in point of time to such men as Rude to have seen, and turned away from, the gulf of commonplace in which the conventional classicist is sooner or later lost. He was enough of an individualist in his art to keep St. Gaudens from falling into routine, and enough of an academician to nourish in his American pupil the sense of measure which might have slumbered if he had fallen into the hands of a more naturalistic teacher. The style which St. Gaudens brought back with him on his return to this country was remarkable for its blending of polish with freedom. Here was an American who could dwell at the centre of French art and only take from it that which suited him.

The special note of the medallions which are conspicuous among his first productions is one of delicacy, and in the character of that delicacy lies a source of strength which has from first to last been of immense service to St. Gaudens. It is a delicacy that leaves the door open, so to say, for the raciest realistic impression. The medallions of the modern French school are apt to be over-polished. Even so brilliant a master as Chaplain could not quite divest himself of the notion that a small work in low relief must necessarily have something of the character of a minted coin, with no single detail stated at less than its highest value. He and other Frenchmen strangely misread the lesson of the Italian Renaissance, which is that the complicated web of super-subtle light and shade, legitimate in a large Madonna by Mino, say, is better exchanged, in a medallion, for the strong simplicity of those medals in which Pisano and his followers proved that art on a small scale need not be minute in feeling. There is a medallion of Bastien-Lepage by St. Gaudens, made just after he had finished his "Joan of Arc," in which the sculptor ranks himself with the older workers in this province.

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The touch is at once caressing and bold; nothing essential is slurred, but neither is anything unduly emphasized. In this, and in certain medallions of other artists who were comrades of his in Paris, Frank Millet, Maitland Armstrong and George W. Maynard, the sculptor makes us feel that in the manipulation of surface he can be as subtle as anybody, but has no intention of sacrificing vitality to the nuance. On the contrary, he delights in giving a clear, even forcible, impression of the personality before him. It is portraiture for the sake of truth and beauty, not for the sake of technique. He has been faithful to the same principle in other works of a similar character which he has executed in later years, steadily gaining in strength, but never losing the spontaneity which belongs to his earliest essays. His work in the round is, in a sense, more important; but his medallions alone would serve to make him known as a great artist. In them, and in his upright or oblong panels in low relief, he has allowed himself, reasonably enough, a certain decorative effect. Nothing could be happier in arrangement than "The Children of Jacob H. Schiff," with the shaggy hound indicated behind the two children, and the garlands suspended above them from the capitals of the pilasters which enclose the group. Again, in "The Children of Prescott Hall Butler," the composition and the treatment of the quaint costumes have a piquancy which only the artist seeing his work as an organic thing, and bent on making it something new and picturesque, could achieve. In a marble relief of Mrs. Stanford White, both the conception and the execution have the dainty realism and the exquisiteness which we associate with the finest souvenirs of the Tuscan sculptors. Masterly craftsmanship marks these reliefs, but their atmosphere remains one of engaging naturalness. The exception to the rule is provided by the "Miss Violet Sargent," in which the figure in a modern dress, seated upon a carved bench, is represented as playing a guitar. The effect is awkward, even ugly, but fortunately it illustrates the sculptor's sole departure from the ideal of subtle grace and suavity of line which seems, on the whole, to be part and parcel of his artistic nature. The "Miss Violet Sargent" is a case of modernity not quite successfully hit off.

In dealing with the late Robert Louis Stevenson, on the other hand, St. Gaudens managed to be modern without crossing

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the line that separates art from photography. The Stevenson is known in two versions. The first of these, the circular one, dates from 1887, when the romancer was ill in New York. St. Gaudens modelled the head and shoulders in five sittings of two hours each, just before Stevenson went to the Adirondacks. He did the hands from drawings which he made at Manasquan, and from casts executed at the same time, on the eve of Stevenson's departure for Samoa. The long relief for the memorial in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh was modelled in Paris in 1900 from the medallion aforesaid—and, by the way, the history of this work offers an apt example of the difficulty which St. Gaudens sometimes finds in pleasing himself, and the ardor with which he works over a thing until he has made it right. The later Stevenson was cast in bronze in Paris; but on its arrival here the sculptor was dissatisfied with it and remodelled it, simplifying it considerably. It is now finished and will soon be sent over to Edinburgh. To return to the question of modernity, it may be noted that, in both these portraits, Stevenson is shown as the sick man reclining. There has been some criticism of the pose, and objections have been raised to the cigarette between Stevenson's fingers. As a matter of fact, the various details in question are, in the first place, necessary to the characteristic impression sought; and, furthermore, they have been handled with such discretion that not one of them endangers the balance of the design. On the contrary, these are two of the best things St. Gaudens has done, realistic in essence, but in each case with the figure so well placed, and modelled with so much delicacy and beauty of style, that the result is thoroughly sculpturesque. Certainly, no more beautiful memorial to Stevenson could have been devised than the one which Edinburgh will owe to this American artist.

In discussing St. Gaudens's medallions and works in low relief, I have ignored, in a measure, the chronology of his career. But even if dates were not a matter of small moment in the art of a man who will keep a statue in his studio for years if he is not content with its first state, I would wish to turn now to a question bearing upon his whole record. This is the question of what subject, aside from portraiture, means to him. The only nude figure I find in the list of his works is the Diana surmounting the tower of the Madison Square Garden in New York. As

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first modelled and placed in position this was eighteen feet high; but St. Gaudens and Stanford White took it down at their own expense and replaced it by the present version, which is five feet shorter. The incident emphasizes the point that this was not projected as a piece of statuary pure and simple, but as a decorative finial to be seen from a distance at which the pose and the outline are alone significant. Considered in this light, it is a captivating performance, graceful, picturesque, and a good illustration of what ensues to the public advantage when an artist improves an opportunity of the sort usually left to a mechanic. But it is not by work in this vein that St. Gaudens is known. For evidence of his imaginative power as applied to themes apart from the movement of contemporary life, we must look to his draped figures. Among these there stand some works of extraordinary nobility. They are variations on a type which he created more than twenty years ago. He showed then that he could carve an angel which would be neither fantastic nor sentimental, but simply an image of spirituality. Fate was unkind. The three figures for the Morgan tomb at Hartford were destroyed by fire. But even in the photograph of one of them which lies before me as I write, the loveliness of the sculptor's ideal of feminine form is obvious. The angel stands with hands outstretched holding a scroll from which she sings. An expression of peaceful happiness irradiates the pure features. The loose-flowing robe, confined at the waist with a girdle of leafage, is marked by many rippling folds. It is a beautiful figure, the attitude is perfect, and, above all, this angel expresses an imaginative idea. The same idea recurs, somewhat modified, in the caryatides executed for the house of Cornelius Vanderbilt, in the Smith tomb at Newport, and in the relief which, with a group of medallions, represents St. Gaudens in the Luxembourg. It is an idea of delicate form, interpenetrated with an emotion peculiarly sweet, spiritual and reposeful. The key is tenderly poetic, elegiac. Romantic as it is, it still does not exhaust his scope. There is another work, demonstrating that St. Gaudens can, when he chooses, rise to a tragic plane. This, the Adams monument at Washington, is, for a kind of restrained grandeur, not only the finest thing of its kind ever produced by an American sculptor, but an achievement which modern Europe has not surpassed.

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The single figure in this monument sits enveloped in heavy drapery on a rough-hewn block of granite, against a wall of the same material. Her face is visible; the right hand is raised to support the chin, and one sees the bare arm to the elbow; but, for the rest, the form is muffled as in unearthly garments. It is a mysterious, sphinx-like presence, strange and massive, with something of terror, but more of solemn dignity and beauty, in its broad, simple lines. I have seen it more than once, under different conditions. It is impressive in sunshine, confronting happy nature with its sombre secret. But on a bleak winter's day, or in rain, its mournful charm is heightened; and here, one reflects, far beyond the measure of any other of his compositions, St. Gaudens is the poet, the dramatist, intermingling with the concrete qualities of plastic art the more elusive qualities of mind and soul. And with what wonderful sobriety does he attain his end! I have thought, standing before this great work, of certain notable figures in French sculpture. I have recalled Dubois, in one of his figures for the tomb of General Lamoricière; Rodin, in divers of his hierophantic improvisations, and several remarkable statues by colleagues of theirs, men on a lower plane, but still eminent. None of these foreigners has, in my opinion, ever modelled a statue at once so simple and so full of meaning as this one at Washington. Where Dubois would have made it dignified, noble, but academic to the point of coldness, St. Gaudens has clothed it in an air that is charged with the thrilling implications of the grave. Where Rodin would have made it speak of movement, would have made it rugged and almost luridly epical, St. Gaudens has made the figure symbolical of rest itself, and has been tragic through intensity, not through emphasis or gesture. I remember how many fine French statues have been spoiled by the hint of the theatre introduced, by some exaggeration in the expression of the face or by some arbitrary arrangement of the limbs; and I rejoice anew in the determination with which St. Gaudens has turned his back upon all meretricious expedients and has given to this statue the bare majesty of a passage out of Homer. It is interesting to note that this landmark in American sculpture, on its imaginative side, was modelled by an artist who has never wreaked himself to any extent on allegorical and symbolical composition. The several angelic figures he has produced are, when all is said,

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merely angelic. Their physiognomies are furrowed by no lines of complex thought. But the seated divinity in the cemetery at Washington touches the mind at many points, and is remembered with a sense of profundity and supernatural wonder.

It is St. Gaudens's one memorable effort in the sphere of the loftiest abstraction. His other greatest triumphs have been won in the field of heroic portraiture, working in the round and on the scale of a public monument. Twice his subject has met him half-way in respect to picturesqueness: when he made the Chapin monument at Springfield, known as "The Puritan," and when, with the assistance of Miss Lawrence, he erected a statue of Columbus in front of the administration building at the Chicago Fair. The Columbus, I suppose, having been put up in staff for a temporary purpose, has ere this disappeared. One is easily reconciled to the loss. It was a striking but not permanently impressive piece of work. The tall commander, standing in cloak and armor, with sword uplifted in one hand and a voluminous standard supported in the other, though undeniably effective, somehow lacked the quality of style. "The Puritan," however, endures to illustrate St. Gaudens's aptitude in the interpretation of a by-gone personality and in the treatment of unconventional costume; and it is a brilliant statue. The stalwart old New-Englander advances toward us with energetic tread, his stout staff seeming to ring upon the ground, and the clutch of his fingers upon the Bible under his left arm bespeaking the ardent and authoritative religionist. The wide brim of the peaked hat shades the face of a man of iron will. The long and heavy cloak, that falls nearly to his heels, seems a coat of mail for this peaceable warrior in an age of simple living and strenuous thinking on sublime themes. The statue is a strong piece of characterization. It is also an admirable study of form, boldly modelled, like all of St. Gaudens's public statues, but with a touch in it more pictorial than he has elsewhere cared to employ.

Elsewhere, indeed, he has practically always had to solve a far more difficult problem than he faced in making "The Puritan." In the relief of Dr. Bellows for the Church of All Souls in New York, he could gain an imposing effect through the flow of ecclesiastical robes, and he had some little help of a similar sort in the McCosh Memorial at Princeton. But in the five monuments in which he has commemorated five heroes of our

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Civil War, he has had no aid from costume or accessories. He has had, instead, to work on the bed rock of character, and he has done this with results that put to shame the artists perpetually complaining that they are handicapped by the nature of modern clothes. The Farragut, in Madison Square, New York, was the first public statue he was commissioned to make. He modelled it in Paris, in 1880. The Lincoln, at Chicago, dates from the middle nineties, and the Logan, likewise at Chicago, belongs to the same period. St. Gaudens began work on the Shaw Memorial, for Boston, in 1884, and expected to complete it in a couple of years, but it was not unveiled until 1897. General Sherman gave him, in 1887, some eighteen sittings for the familiar bust, but the equestrian statue recently erected in New York was begun some years later, and was long in being carried to completion. No one but the sculptor himself can tell the psychological history of these undertakings; no one else can say to what extent each one of them was isolated from the others as a matter of study, or formed part of a kind of sequence in his mind. But I do not think one would go far wrong in regarding the entire group as the outcome of a broad sympathy for one capital fact in our history, the War, with all that it means to a lover of his country. In other words, just as we think of Raffet as the pictorial interpreter of the Napoleonic régime on its military side, for example, we cannot but recognize in St. Gaudens the representative, in plastic art, of our own tremendous struggle. Was he at the outset conscious of an ambition destined to flower in such a position as this? It is more than doubtful. Yet it is pleasant to think of him as veritably foreordained to carry out these splendid works, and certainly they have, whether they are taken separately or together, the quality convincing us that no one else could have done them quite so well. It is not simply that each one of the monuments has certain specific artistic merits, lifting it to a high plane. It is rather that in every one of his studies of historical subjects, St. Gaudens has somehow struck the one definitive note, has made his Lincoln or his Sherman a type which the generations must revere and which no future statues can invalidate. Monuments to leaders in the great conflict are already excessively numerous, and some of them are worthy; but none, as it seems to me, has the authority to which St. Gaudens has attained in all of his.

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Though he has strengthened his art as the years have passed, this virtue of dramatic truth is perceptible as clearly in his earliest as in his latest work. The Farragut, for example, undoubtedly wants the grandeur of the equestrian Sherman, but it remains the best of all of our tributes to the dead admiral. I have heard criticisms of the pose. Ribald remarks have been made about what has been called "the Farragut strut." It is not a strut at all, but simply the natural carriage of a seaman. Indeed, the whole spirit of this monument is delightfully significant of the quarter-deck, a fact which may trouble those who fear realism in art as they fear the plague, but which carries its own recommendation to those conscious of the importance of realistic principles when they are properly handled. They are handled with excellent judgment in the Farragut. To call it breezy would be to overstate the case, but it is true that St. Gaudens produced on this occasion a figure instinct at every point with the energy and strength of a man fronting perils in the open air, amid great winds and under a vast sky. It owes something, by the way, to the pedestal, which is at once charmingly decorative and quite weighty enough to provide a true monumental base for the bronze. It is well to remember the date of the Farragut, 1880-81. At that time we were still more or less held in thrall by the facile makers of "soldiers' monuments," those dreary, lifeless productions which cheered our patriotism and ought to have shocked our taste. St. Gaudens pointed the way to a better order of things. To do this was to do much, but the sculptor did more when the commission for the Lincoln at Chicago was given to him, and, under the pressure of a greater inspiration than Farragut supplied, his art leaped forward, rising to a more imposing height.

The Lincoln has always seemed to me one of the salient statues in the world, a portrait and a work of art of truly heroic mould. Simplicity is its predominating characteristic. Precisely in this attitude does one prefer to see Lincoln portrayed, with no hint of dramatic movement, with nothing of the orator, but with everything of the quiet, self-contained genius that was the same under all circumstances, in all crises. There is more eloquence in the grip of the left hand on the edge of the coat than in any gesture which an artist of melodramatic tendencies might possibly have invented.

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Invention has no place here. It is as if St. Gaudens had divined Lincoln's very soul and had imaged him forth as men saw him under the stress of the war, and as he lives in the imagination of millions who never beheld him in the flesh, but feel, with deepest gratitude, as though they had known him all their lives. Here, in the tall and intensely human figure, American to the core, with its magnificent head—that has, to my mind, more of living grandeur than belongs to the marble of any antique hero—we have the Lincoln of Lowell's lines:

> "How beautiful to see
> Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
> Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;
> One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
> Not lured by any cheat of birth,
> But by his clear-grained human worth,
> And brave old wisdom of sincerity!
> They knew that outward grace is dust;
> They could not choose but trust
> In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
> And supple-tempered will
> That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
> His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,
> Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
> A sea-mark now, now lost in vapor's blind;
> Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
> Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
> Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.
> Nothing of Europe here,
> Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
> Ere any names of Serf and Peer
> Could Nature's equal scheme deface
> And thwart her genial will;
> Here was a type of the true elder race,
> And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face."

Lowell, gathering up into his Commemoration Ode the traits which all men have learned to see in Lincoln, gives us a portrait with an accent of its own. St. Gaudens does the same thing. We think first of Lincoln when seated in the stately exedra with which Stanford White partially enclosed the statue. But one of the many thoughts with which we leave the work is of its originality, of the way in which St. Gaudens has stamped his own individuality upon the bronze. I come back to the question of

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his style, its polish that is never hard, its freedom that never passes into license. In the treatment of the hopelessly commonplace costume in the statue, everything depended upon an avoidance of anything like self-assertion. When occasion requires it, St. Gaudens can beguile us with every touch that he bestows upon the clay. We see a work of his as a whole, and yet linger with pleasure over this or that passage. In the Lincoln the modelling is so broad, it is so sterling an example of the art of generalization, that no single detail attracts the eye. This is the grand style as the classicists of our old school failed to understand it, to their lasting cost.

St. Gaudens abandoned it, consciously or unconsciously, when he modelled the equestrian statue of General Logan for Chicago, and was, no doubt, justified in so doing. He had a valiant warrior to portray, and, perhaps, it was fitting to represent him controlling a fiery animal and bearing a flag aloft with the air of a conqueror in the face of the enemy. It is a stirring piece of sculpture, ebulliently alive, and, like the Farragut, a wonderfully intimate interpretation of a moving personality. All that the motive demanded is adequately expressed. One is easily lured from this, however, as the Lincoln lures one from the Farragut, by the two other equestrian monuments which complete the group of St. Gaudens's Civil War memorials, the Shaw and the Sherman. The first of these suffers from two serious drawbacks. The bronze casting of the Shaw is far from satisfactory, and the monument is unfortunately placed in front of the State House at Boston, at a point which prevents the spectator from seeing it unobstructed at just the right distance. But it might be still further handicapped without losing its effect, which is one of interfused fire and pathos. The colored troops marching across the relief to the beat of the drum convey the needed impression of martial animation; and Shaw, on his advancing charger, deepens the sense of tense excitement which it is one of the sculptor's aims to communicate. Simultaneously, though, with our apprehension of what is spectacular and thrilling in the relief, comes our perception of the sadness in Shaw's face and the melancholy beauty of the figure that floats above him. The scheme is daring. Ever since Velasquez painted the "Surrender of Breda," his arrangement of the long lances in that glorious canvas has been emulated by one artist after another, and always

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the collocation of vertical lines has driven them to despair. St. Gaudens must have struggled sorely before he marshalled the uplifted muskets and flags in the Shaw in an array neither restless nor inert. As the work stands, however, there is no sign of struggle. The weapons represented, like the figures, fall into an unbroken harmony. The composition is a perfect unit.

This is one explanation of the success of the Sherman. The introduction of a winged Victory in front of the horse and its rider, involved St. Gaudens in the study of a problem on which no light had been thrown by any of his predecessors. Really great equestrian statues have always been rare, and neither of the two in the past which have been especially inspiring to modern art, the Colleoni of Verrocchio at Venice, and the Gattamelata of Donatello at Padua, has any suggestion to make by which St. Gaudens could have profited when he proceeded to design a group including an added figure. But those will seriously misunderstand him who fail to discern the essentially creative bent of his genius. If he had found suggestions apposite to his task among the old masters, we may be sure that, however he might have used them, he would not have imitated anybody. The composition of the Sherman is his own, and it has the spontaneity and the balance of a work evolved straight from a powerful imagination and an original mind. The Victory is exactly where it belongs, and bears a relation as true, as unforced, as anything in nature itself to the horseman pressing close upon its flying robe. Once more a word on the sculptor's discretion is inevitable. He wanted to express movement in this monument, to give the Victory almost aërial lightness in her carriage, to embody in the horse a type of great strength, pushing its way to the front, and to make Sherman himself the very ideal of a leader, who spurns the miles behind him. The bronze seems almost sentient. The group quivers with vitality. But the rhythm of this dramatic conception is held so well in hand, it is so majestic, that classic art itself could not produce a more nobly monumental effect.

St. Gaudens has, indeed, this much in common with the antique, that he cannot be trivial or violent, but must see life, and treat it in his art, with a wide and steady vision, a strong hand and a lofty feeling. Sincerity is writ large upon everything he has done, and from the medallions of his earlier days to the

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Sherman, which is the fruit of his maturity, he has exemplified the purest qualities of modern art. He has his reward, which has come to him not simply in numerous commissions, but in specific honors bestowed by artistic organizations, and in a public repute that is growing wider every day. More than most men he has helped to make American art, and his name will endure among the brightest in its annals.

ROYAL CORTISSOZ.

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A MOHAMMEDAN VIEW OF THE MACEDONIAN PROBLEM.

BY MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

I.

THE Eastern question is an old question which appears from time to time in new guises. During a large portion of the last thirteen centuries, the Muslims, equipped with light and learning, did achieve great victories over the Christians, and they remained triumphant till the time of the Renaissance, when Western Europe suddenly awoke from the deep slumber of ignorance and lethargy. On the other hand, the Islamic unity having been impaired about the middle of the thirteenth century by the invasion of the Mongol hordes who deluged Asia with human blood, the Islamic countries have been ever since continually moving downward on an inclined plane.

The slow progress maintained in the process of pulling down the once lofty and now crumbling edifice of the Ottoman Empire, is due to the conflicting interests of the great Powers of Europe. The geographical position of Constantinople is such that the possession of it by a great Power with a strong navy would upset the balance of power in the Continent of Europe. If the Russian Eagle were allowed to float over the battlements of the Bosphorus, the very existence of Austria-Hungary would be in danger, the Balkan principalities would cease to exist, and the Mediterranean would be transformed into a Russian lake. In that case, the position would become untenable, even for Germany and England. Hence Russia is biding her time and patiently waiting for the psychological moment; when the long expected final crash of the Dual Monarchy occurs, she will pounce upon her long coveted prey. Meanwhile, other forces are let loose, which are operating effectively, and keeping Turkey and the principalities of the

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Balkan Peninsula in a state of turmoil, so that they may not become powerful and may drag along a precarious existence. In order that the American public, which is clamoring for the adoption of swift measures for wiping out Turkish dominion from the map of the globe, should understand the real situation, it seems necessary that a short description should be given of certain forces which are hard at work at that southeastern corner of the Continent and which are responsible for these periodical explosions. Religion and diplomacy, on the one hand, and economic and political forces, on the other, are contributing their share to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

Islam as a religious institution is cosmopolitan, and its polity was originally democratic; but, when its democracy was upset by the imperialist Omayyad caliphs, the missionary character of Islam was also neglected. Nay, in the time of some of the Omayyad caliphs, the Christians and the Jews were forbidden to become Muslims. This was carried to such an extent that the Caliph Omar-bin Abdul Aziz wrote to his governor rebuking him for doing so. His governor replied that, if these people were allowed to become Muslims, there would be a considerable loss of taxes. To which Omar replied thus: "Let them become Muslims, in spite of the loss of revenue; for Mohammed was sent as a guide to the right path, and was not sent as a collector of revenue." Similarly, the Turks, when they established their empire in Europe, never thought of organizing a missionary institution to convert their non-Muslim subjects to Islam. On the contrary, they allowed the conquered nationalities to preserve their religion, their language, their property and all their goods, granting them, besides, the privilege of directing at their pleasure the affairs of their community, of organizing as seemed good to them their schools, over which the Turkish government never exercised any control. Moreover, the Sublime Porte, by an anomaly, granted more liberty and greater means of instruction to the Christian races than it allowed to Muslims. This state of things continued to exist till the eighteenth century, during which Europe made strides in the path of progress and became organized, while Turkey remained all the while stationary. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church, having lost England and some Continental countries through the Reformation, had inaugurated missionary enterprises in Asia and Africa, in order to make

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up for its loss in Europe. Later on, the Protestant and other churches followed the Roman suit, and organized their own missions, too. They all found a good field in the Turkish Empire, since the birthplace of Christ and Christianity was in the hands of the Turks. Naturally, the Christian races of Turkey, having studied their national histories, literatures and their respective languages, and having been imbued with seditious sentiments through the influence of foreign missionaries, were filled with separatist ideas, aspired to independence, formed secret societies, intrigued with the Christians of the Continent, and brought anew to prominence the question of the Cross *versus* the Crescent. Consequently, Russia, France and England assumed the rôle of protectors of the Christians in the East, and religion began to serve the purpose of a screen for political and diplomatic games.

II.

There is no spot on the face of the earth where diplomacy, regardless of all ethical and religious obligations, plays such a fast and loose game as it does in Constantinople. Men of great knowledge and ability, who represent great Powers, do not hesitate to act without scruple, if they can achieve a diplomatic point. Each Embassy at Constantinople, with a heavy purse of secret-service money at its disposal, is a centre of peculiar activities. These great diplomats of Europe, although each pulling the strings to his own country's advantage, are agreed on one thing, that whenever the Turkish government introduces a measure which is calculated to promote the welfare of the Empire, they must manage to stop it, whether by persuasion or by threat. In the old days of the Grand Turk, it was customary to ask for concessions as a favor from the Padishah; but now, when the Turk has become weak, those ancient stipulations have become as the law of the Medes and Persians that can never be altered. For example, the fiscal arrangements of Turkey require to be reorganized to help the trade and industries of the country; but Turkey can do nothing in that direction, because the European governments are opposed to any kind of alteration in her fiscal arrangements. The whole Continent of Europe has adopted protection, but Turkey is obliged to remain, practically, a free-trading country, and to keep an open door for the products of the whole world. It was not long ago that the government of the Sultan wanted to

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change the duty on foreign goods from eight per cent. to eleven per cent, *ad valorem,* but it was prevented from doing so, because of the unanimous opposition of the Ambassadors of the great Powers. This policy of obstruction on the part of the Continental Powers has ruined the industries of the Ottoman Empire, and is keeping Turkey perpetually verging on the border of bankruptcy. In short, European diplomacy at Constantinople is ever busy in encroaching upon the sovereignty of the Turkish government, by acquiring new concessions and by putting obstacles in the way of improvement and reform, and, at the same time, it employs itself in denouncing the maladministration of Turkey. Diplomacy, which has become a scientific art and one of the most honorable professions in our times, has two phases; one is exposed to the gaze of mankind, and is sublimity and charm itself; the other is concealed from the public view, and is the embodiment of meanness and ugliness; just as the teeth of an elephant that are visible, are different from those that are used in chewing the fodder.

III.

At no time in the history of the past did capitalists hold individuals and nations in the hollow of their hands so completely as they do now. The concentration of huge masses of wealth within a few narrow circles, has not only enabled the hoarders of money to exploit the laboring classes, but it has also endowed them with power to enslave communities, annex territories and dominate the world. The governments of the great Powers have to humor them to win their favor, while little kingdoms and republics are never done dancing attendance upon them. A revolution, whether in the South-American republics or in the Balkan states, is a harvest time for the capitalists, when they can strike hard bargains and tighten the rope of their control upon the neck of the finances of the indebted country. The constant strain on the resources of Turkey caused by ceaseless wars, insurrections and rebellions, has plunged her, head and shoulders, into debt. Every exigency, as it arises, compels Turkey to borrow more money and grant greater concessions. The mobilization of troops and the quelling of risings in her dominions are telling severely on her resources; and the nerves of her financial system are getting shattered thereby day after day. Movements, like the present revolt in Macedonia, not infrequently receive countenance from

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financial agencies, which often act as auxiliaries to political aggrandizement on the part of European Powers. In short, the game so successfully played by British capital in Egypt is repeated with no less success upon Turkey, with the avowed object of reducing the Sultan into another Khedive under the protection of united Europe, so long as the actual division of the Ottoman Empire is not deemed advisable.

IV.

The political game of which the Ottoman Empire has been for a century and is, at present, a chessboard, is an extremely complicated affair. Every great Power in Europe takes part in the game. Russia, England, Austria and France have been playing for some time the prominent rôle, and of late years Germany has been added to the number. Whenever it suits any of these Powers to let loose the dogs of feud in the Turkish Empire, in order to divert the attention of the public from a certain point which it is the object of that Power to achieve, it only requires that a signal be made, and the rest of the work is done by revolutionary societies. Thus, a rebellion of the Armenians of Sassoon in 1894 was used to secure a short lease of life to the Rosebery Government, after the defeat of the Irish Home-Rule bill, by diverting the attention of the British public from home affairs to foreign affairs. But it was a sad experiment, for dangerous passions were excited which did not subside for over three years, and in their peculiar course of development resulted in real bloodshed in Anatolia and Constantinople in 1895 and 1896, respectively. The object aimed at was twofold: to retain office with an insignificant majority, and, by appointing a joint commission of inquiry into the Sassoon affair, to raise a wall of autonomous Armenia against the onward policy of Russia into the valley of the Euphrates. But Prince Labanoff, then minister of foreign affairs in Russia, proved to be more than a match for Lord Rosebery, and his successor, Lord Salisbury; he announced "Hands off," gave an ugly rebuff to British statesmanship and alienated Turkey forever from her so-called traditional ally, England, which was ruining her under the guise of a friend. Immense was the disappointment of the Armenians, who were first urged on to rebellion by the British pulpit, platform and press, and then ignominiously betrayed at the critical moment. Then England took her revenge upon Turkey, by

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fomenting trouble in the island of Crete and encouraging the Greeks to land soldiers there, which resulted in the Græco-Turkish war of 1897, and in the final separation of the island from the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, England, thus keeping the Sultan—the Suzerain of Egypt—busy, and also keeping the European Concert engaged in blockading Crete, had an easy task on the White Nile and conquered the Egyptian Soudan. Meanwhile, Austria got an opportunity to blackmail Turkey over a trifling incident at Mersina, and by the threat of bombarding Smyrna exacted a large sum of money from the Greek indemnity and inflicted humiliation upon a Turkish official, simply to mar the effect of the victories of the Ottoman troops on the battle-fields of Thessaly. Later on, France also acted in similar fashion on behalf of some Turkish subjects who had become French citizens by naturalization, and made the question of the quay at Stamboul a pretext for doing so. Thus, the work of crippling the finances of the Turkish Empire and paralyzing her government is going on relentlessly, year in and year out; and the present revolt in Macedonia is, as pointed out above, a part of the programme.

V.

These formidable forces working together might baffle the wit of any government, great or small, and fill the men at the helm of affairs with apprehension that would make life unbearable. But the case is different with the present Turkish régime. Surrounded by enemies on all sides, the Sultan and his advisers, after the fashion of the ostrich, simply ignore the presence of any danger at all, scandalously neglect the defences of the Empire, and studiously pursue the most retrogressive policy imaginable. The whole authority is centred in the person of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, who directs the government of the vast Empire from within the precincts of the Yildiz Kiosk. He is surrounded by a camarilla which is in the pay of foreign Powers, and keeps him ignorant of the real state of things within the country and without. The ministers of the Sultan, to begin with, are not the best specimens of the Turkish race, and on the other hand they hold portfolios which carry no authority with them. This concentration of the administrative authority in one individual, there is no doubt, has exposed the country to the intrigues of foreign nations, and encouraged the secret societies to carry on a revolu-

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tionary propaganda within the Empire. In fact, there never has been a government in Turkey that was so accommodating to foreign intrigues and so inviting to rebellion within its own dominions. The dishonest men around the Sultan, unfortunately, have no regard either for the welfare of the country or for his throne. It is a matter of common knowledge in Constantinople that, at the critical moment before the declaration of war with Greece in 1897, the information in regard to the gravity of the situation sent by Edhem Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman troops at Elassona, was withheld from the knowledge of the Sultan by the palace clique, which was hand in glove with the Prime Minister of Greece; and it was with difficulty that the Minister of War brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty. Similarly, at the beginning of the present rebellion in Macedonia, when General Chevket Pasha, the commander of the flying column in the vilayet of Adrianople and Inspector-General of the Bulgarian frontier, observing the crimes committed by the insurgents all over the vilayet, sent information to Constantinople and asked for instructions, he received only vain and absurd replies. Finally, when he reported the seriousness of the situation, and pointed out the remedy from a military point of view, he was exiled to Aleppo, for Tah-sin Pasha or Izzet Pasha, as it is said, represented him to the Sultan as a "pronunciamiento general." Had Chevket Pasha's advice been accepted and the rebellion put down at its commencement, the Sultan would not have been obliged to mobilize 400,000 troops in Macedonia.

When the Sultan Abdul Hamid came to the throne, twenty-seven years ago, Turkey had a powerful fleet, up to date, then; but the present régime has left it to the mercy of barnacles, all these years, to rot in the harbors of the Bosphorus. So, to-day, the same mighty war-ships which were once the pride of the Ottoman Empire have become utterly worthless, and have acquired the appropriate name of "the lame ducks," while the Turkish maritime provinces are deprived of the means of naval defence. Therefore, it has come to pass that the Black Sea is teeming with the finest Russian war-ships, while the Turkish fleet does not exist.

The position of the Muslims in Turkey is really pitiable in the extreme. They are, so to speak, between the devil and the deep sea. Their own unsympathetic government rides roughshod over them, while the whole of Christendom looks upon them as brutes

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incarnate. No more chivalrous and dignified people can be found on the face of the earth than the Turkish Muslims. They are God-fearing and law-abiding people. To an ordinary Muslim, his religion is a part of his life, and he believes that he is responsible for his deeds to his Creator. The atrocities that are, through political bias, attributed to him, are things that he would simply never do. The Muslims of Turkey know, to their chagrin, that the whole Christian world is hostile to them on the ground of difference of religion, and that, if they were to make a revolution to upset this iniquitous régime, the European Powers would find in it an excuse to intervene and destroy the independence of their country. For, when in 1876 the reform party succeeded in establishing a constitutional government, Russia immediately declared war against Turkey. So they are resignedly waiting for better times, believing that the Sultan and his corrupt courtiers are not immortal beings. It is also a fact that the present administration of Turkey, tyrannical as it is to the Muslims, religiously avoids the oppression of either the Christians or the Jews of the country, because these have foreign missionary friends at home and other sympathizers abroad, who can make the welkin ring with their grievances. Of course, when a rebellion by Christians actually takes place, then the Turkish government is obliged to suppress it with a heavy hand.

These are the circumstances and causes that are looming up large on the horizon of the Ottoman Empire, and tending concurrently to the one end, that is, the disappearance of the Turkish rule from Europe. The most potent of these causes is the impotency of the Turkish government to ward off dangers. Nay, the present policy of the Turkish government seems, to an impartial observer, to be one which is materially helping on its own destruction. The serio-comic remark made by a Turkish Ambassador, to the amusement of his diplomatic colleagues, who were describing the strength of their own respective countries, was never so true as it is to-day. The Ambassador said: "Gentlemen, you are speaking of the strength of your countries; but I tell you that my country is the strongest of all, for it has been more than a century that the Turkish government has been trying to destroy itself, and it has not succeeded yet." It is humiliating for a Muslim to admit it, but this has been true of the Turkish government for the last quarter of a century.

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VI.

There is a medley of race interests in Macedonia. The small races, such as the Wallachians, Roumanians and other remnants scattered over the country, may be left out of account, for their influence is inconsiderable. The Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Servians and Albanians are the rival races. The Turks, who are the ruling race, do not form more than one-sixth of the population of Macedonia. But the Bulgarians are more numerous than other races, and they consequently excite the animosity and jealousy of the Servians, Greeks and Albanians. Macedonia is, says a writer, a realm of rival propaganda, easy conversions of faith, and rapid transfers of nationality. The Austrians are conducting from Novi Bazar an active propaganda among the Albanians, to win their friendship, and are operating to a considerable extent through the Roman Catholic Church. The Servians are at work in the same way among the Bulgarians and other races. The Servians know that their fate will be sealed and that they will be hemmed in, if Macedonia is annexed to Bulgaria. The Greeks hate the Turks less than they do the Bulgarians. They know that the Turks, if they remain in Europe for years or generations, will never make another aggressive movement, but must remain on the defensive. But, with Macedonia controlled by the Bulgarians, the Greeks cannot hope to increase their power. Of all these movements in Macedonia, that of the Bulgarian element has been most active, under the leadership of Boris Sarafoff, a Bulgarian by descent. His revolutionary committee has been sowing the seeds of rebellion against Turkey in Macedonia, during these last ten years, with great success. Sarafoff and his committee have been smuggling arms and dynamite from Bulgaria into Macedonia for some time past, and preparing for a determined revolt. This revolutionary movement has the thorough sympathy of the Bulgarians. It has its headquarters and has long been managed in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. The tactics of Sarafoff and his revolutionary bands are very simple. They march through the length and breadth of the country with rapine and plunder, burning Turkish and Greek villages, murdering men, women and children, and committing all sorts of atrocities, in the hope of goading the Turks to inflict dire vengeance in the form of reprisals. They have carried destruction and death into the towns and villages which are inhabited by the Greeks and Wallachs, and

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destroyed twenty Turkish villages and much government property. And when reprisals occur on the part of the Turks, then Sarafoff and his committee send out harrowing accounts of the Turkish barbarity to the European press, in order to gain the sympathy of the Christian world, and also money to prolong the struggle. Their object in prolonging the struggle is to force Bulgaria to wage war against Turkey, and thus compel Europe to allow Bulgaria to have control over Macedonia, as it did practically allow the Greek influence to prevail in the isle of Crete after the Græco-Turkish war in 1897, by appointing Prince George of Greece as the Governor of the island.

But all this speculation on the part of the Macedonians and Bulgarians is like building a castle in the air. The only Power that would be glad to see Bulgaria annex Macedonia and, having access to the Mediterranean, become a powerful buffer-state south of Russia, is England. It would be even more agreeable to British statesmanship to embroil Russia and Turkey in war, on the present Macedonian embroglio. This possibility—which is very remote—of the roar of cannon and the clash of arms between Russia and Turkey, England would have tried to bring into reality under the pretext of humanitarianism, just now, as she succeeded in doing in 1877, had the concentration camps in South Africa not exposed the hollowness of her shibboleths. The nonconformist press in England, which is so loud in its denunciation of the Turks and enunciation of the modes of vengeance to be inflicted upon them by proxy, cannot deceive any of the great Powers of Europe at this late hour of the day. There is, perhaps, but slight possibility of Bulgaria's being misled by the sophisticated radical press of England, which is inciting her to commit suicide. The views of the Austrian and German governments, on this subject, leave nothing to be desired in the way of frankness. They have warned Bulgaria, and other principalities, to the effect that the aspiration of territorial extension on the part of the Balkan states would never be tolerated by Austria and Germany. Germany has great financial interests in the Ottoman Empire, and therefore it is to her advantage that Turkey should not become bankrupt. Germany is playing a leading part, at present, in Balkan and Danubian affairs, though unostentatiously. As regards Russia, she would be the last to allow the annexation of Macedonia by Bulgaria. That would practically mean the un-

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doing of what she has been strenuously doing in the Balkan peninsula, through panslavonic propaganda, for over half a century. Her sacrifices of money and men in the last Russo-Turkish war, were not incurred to make Bulgaria or any other Balkan principality so powerful as to be antagonistic to her imperial interests. Although Russia is not going to concede to Bulgaria any territorial extension, still the present conflagration in Macedonia and excitement in Bulgaria are standing her in good stead, in respect of her policy in the Far East, where she is massing troops and fortifying her position, while men's minds are occupied with the thoughts of the possible incalculable dangers that may suddenly spring upon them any moment in the Near East.

This vexed problem of Macedonia may be solved in one of three ways. The first, which would be the least evil of all for Turkey, is that she should suppress the present rebellion in Macedonia within a reasonable period, without coming into collision with Bulgaria or any other Power. In this case, she would be obliged only to introduce, in that vilayet, certain reforms which are presented to her by Austria and Russia. The second, which would be disastrous alike to Turkey and the other small principalities there, is that Turkey and Bulgaria should choose to fight. This would be, perhaps, the last straw on the back of the camel, politically and financially, as far as Turkey and the Balkan states are concerned. Both parties would come out of the war shattered in military prowess and financial resources. Then it would be the opportunity of Austria and Russia to divide the Balkan states and European Turkey among themselves, and keep the Sultan at Constantinople as a mere figure-head, shorn of all the authority which he has proved so utterly unfit to wield. The reserved attitude of the great Powers during the present crisis indicates their expectancy of such an eventuality. The visit of the German Emperor to Vienna, shortly followed by that of the Czar, is portentous of great events. The third possibility, which is a mere pious wish on the part of those who would like to see Turkey revive, is that she should, with all possible haste, extricate herself from this trouble, bring all the small principalities into line, form a confederation on defensive lines, and turn over a new leaf in the administration of the country, in developing the resources of the Empire, in protecting home industries, and in establishing a new era of light and learning, and of prosperity and amity among her

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subjects, without distinction of creed and race. This is not a sheerly chimerical idea, as it might appear to the ordinary thinker to be. Such a step would not be outside the pale of practical politics, if the man at the head of affairs at the Golden Horn were a real statesman. This one step would change the whole course of history in Europe and Asia, notwithstanding the obstacles and intrigues mentioned in the beginning of this article. For common-sense and a proper instinct of self-preservation ought to suggest to the war-lord of the imperial Ottoman hosts, the wisdom of grouping around him all the smaller states that have been carved out of his dominions; with their united strength, they could simply defy all their enemies, for in the present condition of Europe, social and economic, no government could dare to commence a war in which it was not absolutely certain of success; and no European Power single-handed could face such a Power as Turkey and the Balkan states combined.

But, alas! the Sultan Abdul Hamid and his satellites are not the men to whom such an idea could ever appeal. The infatuation of the man fills one with amazement. No man ever had such golden opportunities of attaching the three hundred millions of Muslims to his throne, and thereby becoming one of the greatest sovereigns on the face of the earth, as he had when he ascended the proud throne of the Ottoman Turks, and no man ever let slip such opportunities, without taking the slightest advantage of them, as he has done during these last twenty-five years. It is through his incapacity that one of the most glorious religions, established by the most illustrious among the prophets, is held up to ridicule to-day by a godless world of infidelity. It is through his ineptitude that the Muslims, who are honest, sober and dignified people, are represented with impunity throughout the civilized world as barbarians and savages. If the Sultan could only make peace with his own subjects and act according to the dictates of common-sense, he would find his position considerably strengthened, and many difficulties which are of his own creation would disappear. It seems ordained, however, that Abdul Hamid II. is to see the end of the Ottoman Empire as it was when he received it—to see it destroyed by his own hand.

MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

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THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF FOREST RESERVATION.

BY HENRY MICHELSEN.

MR. JAMES P. KIMBALL writes in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August on "Aggressive Forest Reservation." The allegations of the article, while partially correct, are made from the standpoint of an opponent of reserves; and, while the intent of the writer is undoubtedly consistent with good citizenship, it may be pointed out that the grievances complained of, though by no means imaginary, are not so serious as to overbalance the good done by the preservation of forests in high altitudes.

The high character of the author and his intimate knowledge of Western affairs, entitle his opinions to great respect. The purpose of this article is to discuss possible errors of statement, and to correct impressions caused by complaints of a strictly local nature.

The laws under which forest reserves have been established are the following:

The Act of March 3, 1891, (26 Stat., 1095): Section 24 thereof authorizes the President of the United States to establish public forest reserves.

The Act of June 4, 1897, (30 Stat., 34-36), provides for the administration of forest reserves created under section 24 of the act of March 3, 1891.

The Act of February 28, 1899, (30 Stat., 908), authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to rent or lease suitable spaces and portions of ground near, or adjacent to, mineral, medicinal, or other springs within public forest reserves.

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1095), "Sundry Civil;" the Act of February 9, 1900, (31 Stat., 21), "Urgent Deficiency;" and the Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 614) "Sundry Civil," contain the following provision:

"Provided Further, That forest agents, superintendents, supervisors, and all other persons employed in connection with the administration

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and protection of forest reservations shall, in all ways that are practicable, aid in the enforcement of the laws of the State or Territory in which said forest reservation is situated in relation to the protection of fish and game."

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1097), "Sundry Civil," provides, "That hereafter all standard, meander, township, and section lines of the public land surveys shall, as heretofore, be established under the direction and supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, whether the lands to be surveyed are within or without reservations, except that where the exterior boundaries of public forest reservations are required to be coincident with standard, township, or section lines such boundaries may, if not previously established in the ordinary course of the public land surveys, be established and marked under the supervision of the Director of the United States Geological Survey whenever necessary to complete the survey of such exterior boundaries."

The Act of March 3, 1899, (30 Stat., 1233), "Deficiency," provides, "That in the form provided by existing law the Secretary of the Interior may file and approve surveys and plans of any right of way for a wagon road, railroad, or other highway over and across any forest reservation or reservoir site when in his judgment the public interests will not be injuriously affected thereby."

The Act of May 5, 1900, (31 Stat., 169), amends act of February 24, 1897, (29 Stat., 594), entitled "An act to prevent forest fires on the public domain."

The Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 614), provides, "That all selections of land made in lieu of a tract covered by an unperfected *bona fide* claim, or by a patent, included within a public forest reservation, as provided in the act of June fourth, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, entitled 'An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, and for other purposes,' shall be confined to vacant surveyed non-mineral public lands which are subject to homestead entry not exceeding in area the tract covered by such claim or patent: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the rights of those who, previous to October first, nineteen hundred, shall have delivered to the United States deeds for lands within forest reservations and make application for specific tracts of lands in lieu thereof."

The Act of June 6, 1900, (31 Stat., 661), amends certain provisions in the Act of June 4, 1897, (30 Stat., 35), respecting sale of forest reserve timber.

With the agriculturalists of the West forest preservation is not a cult, but a matter of dire necessity. The very origin of the law proves this. But for the efforts of the United States Government to retain at least a part of the forest at the headwaters of the rivers, irrigation would have been a thing of the

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past. The scantily timbered highland areas of the Rocky Mountains cannot bear the wasteful lumbering, followed by fires, which has been practised until the greater part of this territory has become a mountain desert; and cities, as well as farm lands, see their water supplies cut off in the early summer of each succeeding year, the irrigation seasons becoming shorter as each lustre rolls by, and the supply of drinking water for the growing cities at the foot of the Sierra becoming more scant as the needs of their populations grow greater.

It may be affirmed by interested persons that the denudation of the Rocky Mountains would in no wise decrease the natural storage capacity of the high altitudes. Mr. Kimball speaks of "ranges at elevations too high for entry or improvement, but perennially renewed under unfailing precipitation." It may be true of the western slope of the Teton Range of Wyoming that precipitation is unfailing, but this is not so as regards the eastern slopes of the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, where the snow-fall is becoming more and more intermittent, and the peaks often are bare in March or April. An abrogation of the forest reserve laws, which would permit a denudation of the mountains below timber line, thus destroying the natural storage-reservoirs, would not be hailed with pleasure by the farmers of any of the Western States, but would be most strenuously resisted.

The purpose of the law as defined in the Act of June 4, 1897, is "to improve and protect the forest within the reservation; or to improve favorable conditions of water-flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States." No one familiar with conditions in the arid West may say that such a law was not needed. Nor can it be contended that the nation, in which the title to these lands is vested, was not right in segregating therefrom certain portions for the very great benefit of those who have put homes into the heart of the desert, and who have founded great cities and mighty commonwealths where the nomadic tribes of the aborigines experienced difficulty in their search for a scanty support. Having set apart these mountainous forest lands for these beneficent purposes, the nation was further bound to entrust the execution of its laws, under proper safeguards, to the constitutional adviser of the President, to whose care the administration of Interior affairs has been committed from the very inception of the gov-

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ernment. That the reserve laws have in all cases been executed in accordance with the benevolent intent of the statute is not claimed. Mistakes have been more or less frequent. There have been changes in officials, as there have been changes in the Federal administration, but the result as a whole has been to enlarge the irrigated area upon the plains formerly arid, to establish new agricultural industries (notably that of the sugar beet), to aid the sheep-grower in providing feeding establishments for many millions of his lambs, and to enable the cattle-grower to winter his stock by enormously enhancing the crop of native and cultivated grasses.

As an offset to these benefits, we have the necessity, arising from the very nature of the case, of meeting the complaints of those who have settled within the areas set apart for reserves. It is true that the nation offers, in the Act of June 4, 1897, that in cases in which a tract covered by an unperfected *bona fide* claim, or by a patent, is included within the limits of a public forest reservation, the settler or owner may relinquish the tract to the Government and select in lieu thereof a tract of vacant land open for settlement, not exceeding in area the tract covered by his claim or patent. It is also true that, under this clause of the act, the settlers making the exchange have, in nearly all cases, obtained for their government scrip a much larger price than they would have received under a private sale. But this does not obviate the fact that, in order to establish a forest reserve, it is necessary to maintain the tree-growth upon the area thus set apart, and that, if claims are relinquished, the lands will probably be reafforested. Now, the extent of these relinquishments is much commented upon. In the Plum Creek Reserve, which embraces 180,000 acres, the relinquishments to date have been 9,420 acres, approximately five per cent. In the South Platte Reserve, which contains 683,520 acres, 18,520 acres have been relinquished, or barely two and seven-tenths per cent. It is submitted that the sufferings of so small a minority, which is well paid for its holdings, as is universally acknowledged, are not so great as to necessitate a change either in the law or in the methods of its administration.

Egress and ingress of actual settlers residing within the boundaries of forest reserves, or transit across the same to and from their properties or their homes, are guaranteed by the law. It is

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also lawful for any person to prospect, locate and develop the mineral resources of the reserves, provided always that the necessary rules and regulations are complied with. And, since mining requires the use of timber, each locator may utilize such timber as he finds upon his own claim, and even obtain more under the proper application and permit. That companies are barred from the free use of timber within the reserves is a matter of necessity; were it otherwise, there would be but little timber preserved.

All water within the forest reserves may be used for domestic, milling, mining or irrigation purposes under the laws of the State wherein such reservations are situated, or under the laws of the United States and the rules and regulations established thereunder.

Stock grazing is allowed, under permits emanating from the Secretary of the Interior. The rules under which these permits are being granted have proven so beneficial, that a very pronounced difference is observable in the stand of the grasses on a properly regulated forest reserve and those on the public lands outside of it; and it has been acknowledged, time and again, that, if ever the public grazing domain is to be made useful to its fullest extent, it must be done upon the basis of the principles followed out in the management of the forest reserves. It may be permissible to detail very briefly the practice followed.

At the end of every grazing season, the stand of the grasses and the general condition of the range are ascertained. In Colorado, the matter is then discussed at public meetings between the stock-growers and the government officials. Where the growth of grasses is thin and scant, the number of head is reduced; where an increase of numbers pastured is admissible, an increase is allowed. The range is then divided in such a manner as to give preference in the following order: *(a.)* Stock of the reserve residents; *(b.)* stock of persons owning farms or ranches in the reserve, but not residing thereon; *(c.)* stock belonging in the vicinity of the reserve, known as "neighboring stock"; *(d.)* stock coming from a considerable distance from the reserve.

The aim being to allow each settler in the reserve a sufficiency of winter range and to keep the outsiders from intruding upon it, much bickering occurs at these meetings; but the result is, on the whole, that each man obtains his home range, which he may again receive during the succeeding year, as it is easier to

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retain the cattle upon the lands to which the animals have become accustomed. It is thus made the interest of each owner to improve, as much as possible, the stand of his grasses. Arrangements are also made, under the laws of the State and the rules of the County and State Associations, for the return of the stray stock to the proper owners. These meetings have been found to be of the greatest value to all interested, and have done more to keep the peace between cattle men and sheep men than is at present understood. And they have obviated a good deal of talk about an arbitrary management of forest reserves. Of course, so long as self-interest shall actuate mankind, there will be disputes between herd owners as to range area. From the days of the Patriarchs to the present time, there have been difficulties to be overcome, boundaries, and rights to springs and water courses to be adjusted; but, upon the whole, it is properly claimed that the system adopted is fair, and that, if carried out without too much rigidity, it must succeed in settling, in an equitable and perfectly legal manner, the disputes which naturally arise.

Sheep and goats have been excluded from many reserves, because of the damage done by these animals to the young growth. Sheep men, of course, deny the justice of the stand taken, or the fact that any damage does occur. But the appearance of any sheep country demonstrates the fact that, wherever the herds are allowed to roam, the hillsides do become bare, and that the reproduction of timber ceases. In Colorado, a practical method appears to have been found of avoiding an unjust discrimination. Flock owners usually keep their herds within their own territory until the lambing season is over; they then drive them through the reserve to the ranges upon public lands above timber line, where the grasses are very nutritious, and where may be found the natural home of the wild sheep. It is thought that in this manner the highlands may be utilized without detriment to the interests of the country at large; it is certain that nothing has been heard lately of range wars between cattle men and sheep men.

As to game preservation, the law prescribes that forest officers of the United States must enforce the State game laws. This is supposed to mean that if a violation of the game or fish laws comes to the notice of a United States ranger, he must report the fact to the nearest State game warden. Forest officers have no

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power to make arrests, and it is much to be hoped that no such power may ever be conferred upon them. A forester has too much to do to trouble about game, and the hunting season usually brings into the mountains such a number of campers as to make the watching of their fires a grievous burden to him. In the Eastern Colorado reserves, rangers do not carry firearms; the land is considered the heritage of the people at large, to be exploited under the proper regulations for the benefit of those entitled to them, the few game animals being entirely under the care of the State laws.

Roads and trails are being made, under the rules laid down by law, wherever necessity arises. State and county roads traverse the Colorado reserves from end to end. While illegal cutting of timber is prohibited, fifty per cent. more free-use permits have been issued than have been taken advantage of. Mr. Kimball says that "to the accepted theories of forest protection and the avowed purposes of forest reservation, no popular objection is seriously opposed." It is sought, here, to demonstrate that an effort, at any rate, is being made to carry out the law in letter and in spirit, and that there is little occasion in fact for the anticipations of evil in which Mr. Kimball indulges. In Colorado, the Federal and State authorities work in harmony, and there has been no friction. The State has endeavored to make its regulations conform to the forest rules of the Interior Department, and that action, being voluntary, certainly indicates that there is no absolute harshness in these forest rules. And the Agricultural Department is now engaged in important work to determine the value of the State timber lands. It would not be very difficult to establish similar relations elsewhere.

If the forest reserve regulations are to be embodied in concrete form in specific legislation, it is thought that but little change can be made in these rules as they now stand.

HENRY MICHELSEN.

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IS FOOTBALL GOOD SPORT?

BY GEORGE E. MERRILL, PRESIDENT OF COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

WHEN thirty thousand people are willing to forsake comfortable homes and profitable business to sit several hours upon boards in chill November winds to witness a football-game between rival colleges, no one can doubt that the game is eminently successful as an entertainment. Few persons who know the game will deny that, also, it has excellent qualities as sport, for "sport" and "entertainment" are by no means equivalent terms. There are many champions of the game who contend that it is the noblest of all sports; but it would seem that some of the qualities urged for its maintenance in this high position should be regarded as elements in an interesting game rather than as elements in good sport. Apparently, a certain glamour hangs over the game so that it is not judged fairly, and certain features that would not be tolerated for a moment in other games are here regarded as essential. Perhaps previously published discussions of football have been diverted from this aspect of the subject by what has seemed to be the greater importance of the relations of the game to scholarship and the physical and moral life of the student; but, even in these respects, any defects of the game, regarded simply as good or bad sport, are not insignificant. It is the proposal of this brief paper to note some of these defects, long apparent to one who has had some exceptional opportunities for observing the game from the outside.

First of all, mention must be made once more of the physical danger of the game as it is now played. I name this first, not because I consider it the most important objection, but to give it its due place and dismiss it, as having already been amply discussed by others. It has its bearing, however, in any consideration of the game simply from the point of view of sport. Any

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game that calls for the presence of surgeons, and that results in so many fatalities as occurred last season, is too serious to be called "sport." It has never been considered that hunting is good sport for the wild creatures hunted, and now it is coming to be doubted whether it can be considered good sport even for the hunter, since he seems about as likely to be killed by a fellow hunter by accident as to kill the game! This is not sport but murder. And is it not equally true that a game that sends a dozen young men to death in a season is getting beyond the definitions of true sport? Is not such a game what President Eliot calls it, "war"? And is not Professor Hollis right when, in a recent article, he indicates that no mere sport should thus put life in peril? Professor Hollis says:

"There is always the risk of serious injury to the participants. No season passes without many of them being in the doctor's hands for bruises, sprains, and broken or displaced bones. Frequently, in the heavy games, players have to be carried off the field, sometimes unconscious. Often, in stopping a play, the side on the defensive take chances with their own lives and with those of their opponents, justified only in certain professions like fire-protection, life-saving, seafaring, and railroading."

In other words, business, occupation for the good of society, necessary and unavoidable, may justify such risks, but they do not belong to good sport. The "Journal of the American Medical Association" gives the number of deaths from football accidents in the year 1902 as twelve. Several other cases of injury may have resulted in death, and over eighty cases of very serious injury are on record. One may willingly admit that such a game, just on account of its risks, is likely to foster courage to a marked degree. It is a "manly" game. It is not a game for boys. It is well that the game prepares men for hardship, producing, through its severe training, fine specimens of manhood that can endure a good deal of battering without fatal results. It is good to believe that many of the injuries sustained, particularly those of a permanent or fatal character, are confined to the teams of preparatory schools or of colleges so ill-equipped that proper training has been impossible. It is good that the game demands self-control under the most intense excitement; that it trains the judgment in quick and accurate decision; that it cultivates observation, gives power to detect, remember, anticipate, interpret and thwart the plans

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of opposing minds; inculcates prompt obedience; and so preoccupies the attention of all students, to the exclusion of much that was formerly mischievous in college life, that it has become the ally of good order and reasonable living. All these good things have been sufficiently recognized, and we should regret to see the game abolished. But we should not regret to see it made less dangerous and better sport.

Can any game be reckoned as good sport, which depends so much upon conditions of mere inequality in the weight, the corporosity, of the players? The eleven that can tip the scales with the biggest weight on the beam, has everything in its favor. Ten pounds extra to a man almost surely will win the game. Skill alone has little chance against beef. One is reminded of Napoleon's brutal definition of the French people as so much "food for the cannon." On the gridiron, the more flesh the better, if it is of the right sort. Even in this sense the game is "manly," for every inch of height, every span of girth, every ounce of bone and muscle counts. But is it good sport when mere matter is so important? Shall we give unhesitating and unstinted admiration to a game that hurls upon one party an overwhelming mass of matter possessed by the other party, by brute force accomplishing no small part of the desired end? I am quite sure that the best sportsmen would wish to minimize this element in the game and emphasize skill.

A third objection to football as sport lies in the fundamental principle of it,—the stopping of good play by opposition and interference. I am embarrassed by the technical use of the term "interference." I shall not employ the word in its technical sense, but use it to mean any and all attempts to break up and prevent good play. In this respect how different is this game from almost any other? Baseball resents as foul any attempt to spoil the play of an opponent. What would baseball be if the man running the bases were to be tripped up? What, if the batter could have his bat lassoed in some way just before striking? All plays are made as difficult as they can be made by the skill of the opposing side, but every play is allowed to proceed to its finish without interruption. The pitcher's curve of the ball (a ball, by the way, perfectly spherical, and not the irregular, baffling, unscientific thing of the gridiron) can be met only by the judgment of the striker; the run to the base can be defeated only

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by the superior quickness of the ball through the muscular arm and the unerring eye; the catch in the field can be perplexed by no second ball hurled at the player, and his triumph can only be lost by his own lack of skill. Billiards may give another illustration. The hard table, the evenly elastic cushion, the perfect ball, are all at the exclusive service of the player. Imagine what sort of a game billiards would become, if an opponent were permitted to interpose his cue between the moving ball and the cushion, or otherwise spoil the shot. In racing, the weights are equalized as far as possible; it would not be good sport if they were not; and the slightest touch of interference round the track is a foul sufficient to bar the horse. In track athletics it will hardly do to push an extra hurdle before the racer. The pole vault would not be in high esteem, if a rival were suffered to catch the vaulter round the waist as he rises from the ground. It is hardly necessary to continue imagining such cases. Is not football the only American game where the assured completion of a play is not an element in the sport? And is it good sport when the highest skill is balked by the interposition of some force which is destructive, not of final results, but of processes? In other words, is it good sport when skill is not allowed to carry out its effort to the very highest possible result? He who prefers a game that matches skill with skill to the utmost, and that comes to its end only by the comparison of perfected results, is a better lover of good sport, than he who would see skill never allowed to finish its work.

Another very serious charge against football as sport lies in the mere chance of time that closes the first half, and remands the game to a practically new beginning with the beginning of the second half. Harvard may be upon the point of scoring, a touch-down is not merely in sight but almost within grasp, but the minute arrives and time is called, and all the splendid play counts for naught in the result of the game. With the second half, no credit remains for the crimson so near to victory in the first half; and then Yale fights through the second half with equal skill, only, perhaps, to lose it all within a foot of the goal because another fateful minute has arrived. If we could be sure of such an equality in the game as we have imagined, it might be said that the chance is the same for each side. But, even then, the objection would lie that in neither half would justice be done—it would be only two cases of injustice. Let one of the students

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work faithfully through a term in college, and then be called off by illness or some other compelling cause; he will loudly complain of injustice if, at the beginning of the next term, he is allowed no credit for his past good work, and is made to do it all over again. Is it good sport, when the most magnificent endeavor is negatived by the hand of the clock? It seems almost as foolish as the action of the universities in refusing an honorary degree to a great man, because he cannot be present at the Commencement to receive it. A great university seeks to honor by a great degree a great man for what it recognizes as great achievements. But the great man happens to be ill, or, as in a recent noteworthy case, he gives one more proof of his real greatness by remaining at the bedside of his wife in her desperate illness, or his train breaks down fifty miles away, and the great university is balked in its great purpose. To some this may seem unobjectionable! To others it will always seem the opposite, a travesty upon all right and seriousness of purpose. In football, at any rate, so much more important, it would seem that such fortuitous results should be eliminated. The mere lapse of time should not negative results that have been fairly and honorably won. The time limit thus applied to any other game would be recognized at once as a serious defect. Can there be any valid reason why the second half should not begin where the first half leaves off? Or, if a change in this respect would practically destroy the game, can no system of credit be devised by which the advantages won in the first half may have their fair share of influence upon the result?

Another question may be asked about the introduction of substitutes. Is it good sport to introduce fresh men into a game, when players are either injured or exhausted to such a degree that, for the preservation of life, or for the almost equally important winning of the game, they must be removed from the field? Is it fair to put a new player, wholly unwearied, into the place of a man who has fought through a game till it is nearly finished, thus giving fresh strength to a team and introducing new elements of skill? Judging the matter simply as sport, would it not be better to let the exhausted man die on the field, or at least for the purposes of the game to consider him dead, using substitutes only to remove the body? This would give all credit to those who have succeeded in disabling the player; it

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would keep the superiority upon the side that has won it; it would avoid unfairness in bringing fresh men into competition with men wearied nearly to the point of exhaustion; it would make the progress of the game swifter and more exciting. But, all other points apart, it may be urged with confidence that the single element of unfairness in bringing fresh players into a game to contend with wearied men is fatal to the game as good sport.

Another and, so far as this paper will allow, a final objection to football as sport is the great inequality in the scores that almost always is to be marked through any season. Given a list of games between colleges, small or large, a great majority of the scores will show such inequalities as 21 to 0; 56 to 0; 45 to 6, etc. With great rarity ties are recorded, and of hardly less exceptional record are the games that show any approach to equal skill and strength. This is partly due to the objections already considered. The record of Colgate University for the season of 1902, which naturally is at the hand of the writer, is a good example:

Colgate	24	Colgate Acad.	0	Colgate	29	Rensselaer P. I.	0
Colgate	0	Cornell	5	Colgate	50	Hobart	0
Colgate	36	St. Lawrence	0	Colgate	5	Williams	16
Colgate	0	Syracuse	23	Colgate	22	Rochester	0
		Colgate	11	Hamilton	11		

Here are nine games. One is a tie. One shows a result of 0 to 5; another of 5 to 16. Six out of the nine record 0 for the defeated team, and the scores for the victors run from 22 to 50. Is this really good sport, judged simply as sport?

But, lest this showing should not be deemed sufficiently representative, let us take a list of games played on November 15, 1902, by colleges of all sizes and of varied athletic standing:

Yale	12	Princeton	5	Vermont	29	Union	0
Harvard	16	Dartmouth	6	New York	18	R. P. I.	5
Carlisle	5	Pennsylvania	0	Tufts	11	Holy Cross	5
Cornell	28	Lafayette	0	Maine	11	Bowdoin	0
Amherst	29	Columbia	0	Georgetown	12	N. Carolina	5
Bucknell	23	Annapolis	0	Dickinson	10	Lehigh	0
Brown	11	Springfield T.S.	0	Carthage A. C.	12	Hobart	0
West Point	46	Syracuse	0	Northwestern	11	Wisconsin	0
Williams	28	Wesleyan	5	Michigan	21	Chicago	0

One week later the following games were played:

Yale	23	Harvard	0	Swarthmore	22	Haverford	0
Hamilton	42	Rochester	0	Bucknell	17	Baltimore M.C.	5
Dartmouth	12	Brown	6	Virginia	6	Carlisle	5
Johns Hopkins	17	Maryland A.C.	0	Michigan	66	Oberlin	0

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Here are results from twenty-six gridirons. Seventeen give the defeated no score, while the victors range from five to sixty-six. In the remaining nine games, six to five is the closest score, eleven to five the next, while the others mark a variation from twenty-eight to twelve for the winners and six to five for the losers.

Of course, these scores do not represent any such inequality as would be shown if they were counted by units. When a touchdown means five and a goal one, the inequality in the results is proportionally diminished. But, with such allowances made, the question yet seems to be pertinent: Is this good sport? Far better is the unit counting of baseball, and far better is the result in that and nearly all games. I have before me the records of this college in baseball covering the seasons from 1886 to 1902. Without attempting to give the scores for this whole period, I will only say that they are fairly represented in respect of the scores by the records of the last two seasons, which may be given:

Colgate	7	Opponents 8	Colgate	14	Opponents 8
Colgate	10	Opponents 5	Colgate	9	Opponents 6
Colgate	17	Opponents 3	Colgate	6	Opponents 5
Colgate	7	Opponents 1	Colgate	2	Opponents 7
Colgate	16	Opponents 9	Colgate	7	Opponents 14
Colgate	7	Opponents 5	Colgate	4	Opponents 14
			Colgate	11	Opponents 1

In this table the largest inequality is eleven to one, larger than that in any football-game of the preceding table in which the defeated made any score at all. But the table presents a far fairer record in general than the football-table, with its seventeen games with no score for the vanquished, and with the victors ranging from five to sixty-six. Basket-ball, though with a different method of counting, offers similar results.

Perhaps any changes in the game of football, in the directions indicated as desirable in order to improve its character as sport, might be fatal to the game. Of that I must leave others to judge. But it would seem that a word of warning and protest should be heard, and that any game that has so many elements of unfairness and unfitness should not occupy the first place in the esteem of American youth. Fair play is one of the ideals of Americans. It would seem that our inventive genius should be equal to the task of discovering some way of relieving this great game of the objections that are so evident. The athletic ambitions of the college student at present are in football to a large de-

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gree. It is a pity that these ambitions cannot be centred upon a sport in which the element of chance shall be eliminated as far as possible, skilful and strenuous effort meet no interference, the common conditions of fairness be preserved, results that have been honorably won receive due credit, and the final scores be measurably close.

GEORGE E. MERRILL.

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A UNIQUE MUNICIPAL CRUSADE.

BY FRANCES WESTON CARRUTH.

How a contagious eye-disease may for years escape the authorities, and, brought in by immigrants, unsuspected and undetected, become a menace to the sight of a nation, is being illustrated in the United States, where, unrealized by the public at large, trachoma, insidious and loathsome, is rampant among the poor of the seaboard cities.

A condition of the eyelids peculiar to the people of the Orient, the Russian and Polish Jews, and the Italians, who, in such vast numbers have recently poured into the United States, the cause of trachoma is filth; its danger lies in infection by contact. It is trachoma which has made Egypt and India nations of sore-eyed people. Travellers in the Orient are familiar with the repulsive condition of the visual organs of the majority of the natives, who, through ignorance and a lack of cleanliness, breed the disease which, when it does not actually cause blindness, weakens the sight and incapacitates its victims for life. Among the Orientals, it is not uncommon to see the eyes of sleeping children a mass of dirt and flies, ignored, if observed, by the careless mother. Indifference to these conditions may be the attitude of the traveller of whatever nationality in foreign lands, but the subject becomes one of vital importance when it is realized that, migrating to any country of the world, one of these eye-diseased persons, be he from eastern or northern lands, may infect and imperil the sight of an entire community.

It is a matter of history that Napoleon's army in the Egyptian campaign became widely afflicted with the malady, and it is believed that through these returning soldiers the evil was spread on the Continent of Europe.

In the United States, the aliens among whom trachoma is

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prevalent are massed in the great tenement localities of the large cities, where the congested conditions of living offer fertile soil for the propagation of the disease. There they spread the infection through their families, the tenements, the factories, the schools, the playgrounds and the streets—wheresoever they come in contact with humanity. A few years ago, instructions were issued by the Government forbidding the landing in the United States of immigrants afflicted with the disorder; and it was thought that effectual precautions had thus been taken to extirpate a disease the general prevalence of which was not then suspected. But, important as was this edict of the Government, as great a danger lay within as threatened from without. The malady had been many years flowing into the country, steadily increasing, numbering its victims by the thousands, developing with astonishing rapidity among children, working evil to them unobserved, largely because, in its incipiency, it makes no outward sign.

Owing to these conditions, there has arisen a situation the gravity of which presents a new problem, not alone to the seaboard cities of the United States, but to the large urban communities from one end of the country to another. This is, How shall trachoma be stamped out of the nation? It becomes the duty not only of the Government but of municipalities to solve this vital question.

Greater New York, containing, unquestionably, the preponderance of aliens afflicted with the disease, is making, along original lines, a noteworthy experiment which furnishes interesting material for study and emulation. The municipality strikes at the root of the evil by attacking it in the public schools, where promiscuous association exposes all classes and races to the danger of the disease. To protect the eyesight of these public-school children, New York is engaged in one of the most picturesque fights in the history of civic sanitary effort, and one that is unique; for New York is the only city in the world which has ever undertaken an organized fight against trachoma, more than 17,000 cases of which were found, upon investigation, in last years' inspection of the schools.

Trachoma, which is caused by personal untidiness, spreads by contact, and it is extremely difficult for any but oculists to recognize the disease. In these facts lay the danger that awoke the

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New York Board of Health to a sense of the gravity of the situation, in which the 500,709 school children of Greater New York were exposed to a malady that, in its advanced form, produces blindness. And so there was begun in September, 1902, a war of extermination, for the conduct of which, the Board of Health having already demonstrated the need for action, the city in January, 1903, made an appropriation of $20,000. An experimental campaign—for there were no precedents to follow—it has resulted, in a year, in the control of the disease, and in the cure of thousands of cases without interference with the education of the children. Nor is this all. Not one of the least important triumphs is its educational influence; it has brought practical sanitary knowledge to many a tenement home in which ignorant parents, learning to care for their children's eyes, have become alive to the need of hygienic conditions generally, and the value of soap and water frequently applied.

A year and a half ago, the authorities had no suspicion that the eyes of the pupils in the public schools were exposed to and affected by a contagious disease. But, in the clinics throughout the city, oculists were treating such a vast number of trachoma patients of all ages that Dr. Richard Derby, the eminent oculist and Consulting Ophthalmologist to the Board of Health, concluded that there must be many cases of the disease among the school children; and at his suggestion, made in June, 1902, just as the schools were closing for the summer vacation, Dr. Ernst J. Lederle, Commissioner of Health, ordered sixteen oculists to make a general examination of eyes in the schools. This was done, with the result, astonishing to the authorities, that 6,000 cases of trachoma were found in twenty-six schools, the preponderance of it among Yiddish and Italian boys, who had spread the contagion among their class-mates of both sexes and all nationalities, the negro children only being exempt. Why the ebony-skinned school children, and their parents as well, alone should prove immune is a fact which science is puzzling over.

Investigation having brought these facts to light, Commissioner Lederle at once caused trachoma to be put on the sanitary-code list of infectious communicable diseases, thereby giving the city authority to control persons affected by it. This important step having been taken, the Health Department proceeded to plan, during the summer, a vigorous campaign, which was begun as

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soon as the schools opened in September, Dr. William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools, co-operating heartily with the Health Commissioner. Medical inspectors, nurses in the schools, teachers, oculists, parents, and the "little mothers" of the tenements were suddenly banded together in a common cause—to discover and cure diseased eyes and shield healthy ones from contagion. Few cases were reported among the babies, trachoma being found to develop usually when the child is between seven and eight years of age. A disease of the inner surface of the eyelids, commonly called "granular lids," in its mild form it is neither irritating nor apparent beyond a slight discharge, recognizable by the professional eye, but unheeded by the majority. In its virulent form, lids are heavy and swollen, the discharge repulsive—an alarming stage, when, if neglected, the lids and lashes turn inward, inflaming the cornea and causing blindness.

More children were found to be affected than the already overworked eye-clinics of the city could begin to attend to. To get and keep them under treatment (there is no danger of contagion from cases under treatment, so that exclusion from school is unnecessary, except for a short time in cases which have to be operated upon), the Board of Health, with the co-operation of Dr. John W. Brannon of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals, secured the old Gouverneur Hospital then just about to be torn down, and, on December 6th, opened in the heart of the Yiddish quarter, where it was most needed, a trachoma hospital under the supervision of Dr. Herbert W. Wootton, exclusively for the treatment of school children. Of the 17,000 cases found in the schools last year, 14,000 were treated at Gouverneur, which discharged 3,500 of that number cured.

A most encouraging feature of the Gouverneur work is that there was no cessation of it during the summer months. All through the vacation, children who had been patients continued to come for treatment, and many of them brought their companions suffering from "sore eyes." Parents and "little mothers," beginning to realize the nature of trachoma and the dire consequences of its neglect, became self-imposed inspectors, and greatly aided the work by their vigilant watch over the children to see that they attended the dispensary. Between two and three hundred children a day were treated during the summer months, while the operations averaged six a day. This active

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summer crusade did much toward getting the lower East Side of the city under control. In that section, the Board of Health believes it now has under treatment every school child afflicted with the disease.

On the upper East Side, in "Little Italy" and the surrounding districts, where trachoma is particularly prevalent, the Health Department, to fight the disease on its own ground, has this autumn opened a hospital, where the methods so satisfactorily applied at Gouverneur will be pursued. To carry the Health Department's trachoma hospital work through its second year, an appropriation of $21,492 has been made by the city.

In the New York fight against trachoma, the oculists in the eye clinics and the medical inspectors in the schools work together from opposite ends of the line. The inspector sounds the first note of alarm. He it is who discovers the disease and starts the child to the oculist. It is the oculist's business to get the patient back to his studies as quickly as possible. In the up-town schools, where the children are of the better class, the cases of trachoma are mild—rarely is one found there so severe as to require operation. Many of these children go to a private oculist for treatment. The private oculist sometimes differs from the inspector in the diagnosis of the case, and tells the parent that the child is not suffering from a contagious disease. This causes complications; for the parent often brings the child back to school with the oculist's report, and insists that he be allowed to re-enter his class without undergoing treatment. The inspector is as firm that he shall not. To settle such disputed cases, it is now required that the children shall be re-examined at the Department of Health, where Dr. Wootton is in attendance for this purpose daily at the noon hour. His decision is final, and the parent must abide by it if the child is to re-enter school.

Under the present system of inspection, which went into operation in September, 1902, it is impossible for any school child to elude the vigilant eye of the visiting doctor. Heretofore, the teachers were the diagnosticians, the inspector merely examining those children whom the teacher thought to have symptoms of illness. The inability of any but the professional eye to detect trachoma necessitated personal inspection of each pupil by the doctor. To make sure that they should be expert, all the inspectors were specially instructed in the diagnosis of trachoma

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previous to the opening of the schools. One hundred and sixty of these inspectors, eight of whom are women, zealous in the cause of stamping out the disease, are on the alert for suspicious symptoms. The method is most thorough and systematic. When, weekly, the doctor visits the class-room, the children are lined up by the teacher and pass before him in single file. Inspection includes the eyes, throat, skin and head. To facilitate the work, each child, as he reaches the doctor, is instructed to prepare for examination by opening his mouth, putting out his tongue, and drawing down his lower eyelids. Any indication of disease causes the pupil to be held for closer examination. If the trouble is in the eyes the doctor quickly determines if the condition be trachoma, in which case the teacher is asked to take down the child's name with a number beside it, the number being taken from a code-card evolved to prevent naming the disease and thus exciting both the child and the class. The pupil then passes on to his seat, and the next in line takes his turn. When general inspection is over, those children whose names have been taken by the teacher are called to the desk, one at a time, and receive instructions from the doctor. In the eye cases, not to alarm them by so unfamiliar a word as "trachoma," they are told simply that they have inflamed lids, and that they must see an oculist. A card, bearing their name and address, is given to them, which they must bring back to school signed by a doctor certifying that they are under treatment. To the child is also given a sealed envelope containing a card for the parent, on which is written the exact nature of the disease, the fact that it is contagious, and the further notice that the child should receive prompt treatment at any city dispensary, or by any physician, and afterward be sent back to school for re-examination by the inspector. If then found free from contagion he may resume attendance.

The child is given two days in which to get under treatment. Children out of school for treatment do not re-enter the class until re-examined by the inspector in his office in the school. If the pupil has his certified card, he is sent off to his class. If he does not have it, he is excluded from school until he brings it. Children under treatment for trachoma are required to have the date of each treatment stamped on the back of their card by the oculist attending them. When the case is one requiring operation, that fact is stamped on the card; so, too, at the proper time, is the

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magic word "cured." In this way, the inspector, who has his list of children to be operated upon, and of children under treatment whose cards he examines every day, keeps track of the cases; and so well has this system worked that he can immediately detect and exclude a child who does not obey orders. In the year's work in the schools, the number of listed cases has been decreased from 17,000 to 9,000. No small part of the success of the trachoma fight is due to the card-system evolved by Dr. John J. Cronin, by which he, as Assistant Chief Inspector of the Department of Health, his medical inspectors, the teachers in the schools, and the doctors at the Board of Health clinics, know from day to day the condition of the eyes of every one of the 535,102 pupils registered this year in the schools of Greater New York.

At first, parents did not take kindly to the official announcement that their children were affected by a contagious eye-disease. Few ever had heard of trachoma. It came as a revelation, and the attitude of most was skeptical. Among the better classes, however, explanations were sufficient. Intelligent mothers at once grasped the situation, and were as eager as inspectors and teachers that the children should have the treatment necessary to cure their eyes and meantime continue attendance at school. In some cases, in the more prosperous districts, children seize joyously upon the exclusion card as a pretext for remaining away from school as long as possible; but such cases are investigated by the teacher interested in keeping her class attendance up to a high mark, and the truant, albeit reluctantly, returns.

In the congested districts, the nurses, twenty-six of whom were established by the Board of Health last year in the schools where they were most needed, become active participants in the trachoma crusade, when, visiting the homes after school hours to hunt up excluded cases which have not returned—a list of which the teacher gives the nurse every day—they turn missionaries, and endeavor to enlighten the parents as to what trachoma means.

The tenement mind and the tenement mother are a combination against which it is difficult to prevail. To the ignorant, trachoma was only a new-fangled word for "sore eyes," and sore eyes in their most repulsive form were too common among them to excite interest. When the pupil was excluded from school because of the disease an impression was made, but the process operated to the detriment of the child. Many tenement parents, instead of

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getting their offspring under treatment, put them to work, availing themselves of this opportunity to evade the law. One boy, seven years of age, suffering from a virulent case which required immediate operation, was excluded, and failed to make his reappearance at the required time. He was not in his home when the nurse endeavored to find him, and persistent search traced him to a sweat-shop conducted by his father, who had put him to stitching shirts. The father refused to give up the boy. A truant officer was notified. He, unable to prevail, reported the case to headquarters, with the result that the father was summoned to court, and fined ten dollars for breaking the compulsory education law, and the boy was sent to the hospital. The case served as a valuable object lesson for the neighborhood. A ten-dollar fine is the sort of argument that penetrates the tenement mind.

On the children themselves exclusion operates in different ways. Many of the boys and girls aid and abet their parents in their trick of keeping them out to work. These children vastly prefer work to school. Others look at it from a different standpoint. They want to go to school, not because they like to study, but because they thoroughly understand that they have to get a certain amount of education before the law permits them to work. School to them is a means to an end. They rebel against exclusion as an unnecessary loss of time, and when ordered to get under treatment for trachoma they do so without the necessity of official exhortation.

Among the more densely ignorant of the foreign population, the nurses rely on the "little mothers" of the tenements to receive and carry out their instructions. They it is who take the care and feel the responsibility of the younger children, while their knowledge of English, which they gain with astonishing rapidity in the schools, and their quick intelligence, make them capable of understanding and undertaking much that their stolid parents, if perceiving, ignore. Owing to the untidy habits of these people, trachoma spreads rapidly in their homes. In her missionary spirit, the nurse points out the importance of cleanliness, the necessity of frequent bathing of the eyes, gives them a practical demonstration in the home treatment prescribed at the hospital, shows mothers how by carelessness and neglect they pass the disease from one to another. It is a liberal education in hygiene. When the nurse finds the mother with trachoma—and

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frequently the mother has the worst case of it in the family,—the nurse persuades her to go to a clinic for treatment, not only to save herself from blindness but to spare the uninfected children. Enlightened in regard to these things, the mothers, particularly the "little mothers," show a disposition to do them. The year's work of the nurses in the tenements has been a wonderful aid. Results are beginning to show satisfactorily in the pleasant relations established, for, by tact, kindness and perseverance, the nurses have won the confidence of the people, most of whom now comprehend the meaning of what the city is trying to do for the eyes of its poor, and show a willingness at least not to retard the work.

As characteristic of the two nationalities, it is interesting to note that many of the Italians are averse to taking their children to a public dispensary, and, poor as they are, prefer to pay a doctor of their own race for treatment; while the Yiddish, keen on the scent of something for nothing, patronize the Gouverneur Hospital with one accord.

Zealous in his war of extermination, the Health Commissioner, as his next step, has, this autumn, inaugurated a system of eye inspection throughout the factories and stores of Greater New York, in order to reach the children who are at work and their parents as well. When found to have trachoma, persons of all ages are required to get under treatment; and, if it becomes necessary, arrangements for treating them at night, after working hours, will be made.

Thus is a progressive municipality conducting within its borders a winning fight, to stamp out a disease the prevalence of which throughout the country will be more generally realized as cities awake to the necessity of arresting the scourge, and determine, as Greater New York has done, that in justice to the eyes of their citizens the healthy should be protected and the diseased cured.

FRANCES WESTON CARRUTH.

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A TRAMPWOMAN'S TRAGEDY.

BY THOMAS HARDY.

(The incidents on which this tale is based occurred in 1827.)

I.

From Wynyard's Gap the livelong day,
The livelong day,
We beat afoot the northward way
We had travelled times before.
The sun-blaze burning on our backs,
Our shoulders sticking to our packs,
By fosseway, fields, and turnpike tracks
We skirted sad Sedge-Moor.

II.

Full twenty miles we jaunted on,
We jaunted on,
My fancy-man, and jeering John,
And Mother Lee, and I.
And, as the sun drew down to west,
We climbed the parching Poldon crest,
And saw, of landskip sights the best,
The inn that stood thereby.

III.

For months we had padded side by side,
All side by side,
Through the Great Forest, Blackmoor wide,
And where the Parret ran.
We'd faced the gusts on Mendip ridge,
Had crossed the Yeo unhelped by bridge,

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Been stung by every Marshwood midge,
I and my fancy-man.

IV.

Lone inns we loved, my man and I,
My man and I,
King's-Stag, Windwhistle high and dry,[1]
The "Horse" on Hintock Green,
The cozy house at Wynyard's Gap,
The "Hut" renowned on Bredy's Knap,
And many another wayside tap
Where folk might sit unseen.

V.

Now as we trudged—O deadly day,
O deadly day!—
I teased my fancy-man in play
And wanton idleness.
I walked alongside jeering John,
I laid his hand my waist upon;
I would not bend my glances on
My lover's dark distress.

VI.

Thus Poldon top at last we won,
At last we won,
And gained the inn at sink of sun
Far-famed as Marshal's Elm.[2]
Beneath us figured tor and lea,
From Mendip to the Western sea—
I doubt if finer sight there be
Within this royal realm.

VII.

Inside the settle all arow—
Ay, all arow—
We sat, I next to John, to show
That he had wooed and won.
And then he took me on his knee,
And swore it was his turn to be

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My favored man, and Mother Lee
Passed to my former one.

VIII.

Then in a voice I'd never heard,
I'd never heard,
My only Love to me: "One word,
My Lady, if you please!
Whose is the child you are like to bear?
His? After all my months o' care?"
God knows 'twas not! But, O despair!
I nodded—still to tease.

IX.

Then up he sprung, and with his knife—
And with his knife
He let out jeering Johnny's life;
Yes; there, at sink of sun.
The slant ray through the window nigh
Gilded John's blood and glazing eye,
Ere scarcely Mother Lee and I
Knew that the deed was done.

X.

The taverns tell the gloomy tale,
The gloomy tale,
How that at Ivel-chester jail
My man, my lover, swung;
Though stained till now by no misdeed
Save one horse ta'en in time o' need;
(Blue Jimmy stole right many a steed
Ere his last fling he flung.[3])

XI.

Thereaft I walked the world alone,
Alone, alone!
On his death-day I gave my groan,
And dropt his dead-born child.
'Twas nigh the jail, beneath a tree,
None tending me; for Mother Lee

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Had died at Glaston, leaving me
Unfriended on the wild.

XII.

And in the night as I lay weak,
As I lay weak,
The leaves a-falling on my cheek,
The red moon low declined—
The ghost of him I'd die to kiss
Rose up, and said: "O tell me this!
Was the child mine, or was it his?
Speak, that I rest may find!"

XIII.

O, doubt not but I told him then,
I told him then,
That I had kept me from all men
Since we joined lips and swore.
Whereat he smiled, and thinned away
As the wind stirred to call up day . . . .
—'Tis past! And I alone now stay
Haunting the Western moor.

THOMAS HARDY.

[1]The highness and dryness of Windwhistle Inn was impressed upon the writer two or three years ago, when, after climbing on a hot afternoon to the beautiful spot near which it stands and entering the inn for tea, he was informed by the landlady that none could be had, unless he would fetch water from a valley half a mile off, the house containing not a drop owing to its situation. However, a tantalizing row of full barrels behind her back testified to a wetness of a certain sort, which was not at that time desired.

[2]Marshal's Elm, so picturesquely situated, is no longer an inn, though the house, or part of it, still remains.

[3]"Blue Jimmy" was a notorious horse-stealer of Wessex in those days, who appropriated more than a hundred horses before he was caught. He was hanged at the now demolished Ivel-chester or Ilchester jail above mentioned, that building formerly of so many sinister associations in the minds of the local peasantry. Its site is now an innocent-looking, green meadow.

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THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART XI.

XXVIII.

ONE of the features of the restless afternoon passed by Strether after Mrs. Pocock's visit was an hour spent, shortly before dinner, with Maria Gostrey, whom, of late, in spite of so sustained a call on his attention from other quarters, he had by no means neglected. And that he was still not neglecting her will appear from the fact that he was with her again at the same hour on the very morrow—with no less fine a consciousness, moreover, of being able to hold her ear. It continued inveterately to occur, for that matter, that whenever he had taken one of his greater turns he came back to where she so faithfully awaited him. None of these excursions had, on the whole, been livelier than the pair of incidents—the fruit of the short interval since his previous visit—on which he had now to report to her. He had seen Chad Newsome late the night before, and he had had that morning, as a sequel to this conversation, a second interview with Sarah. "But they're all off," he said, "at last."

It puzzled her a moment. "All?—Mr. Newsome with them?"

"Ah, not yet! Sarah and Jim and Mamie. But Waymarsh with them—for Sarah. It's too beautiful," Strether continued; "I find I don't get over that—it's always a fresh joy. But it's a fresh joy too," he added, "that—well, what do you think? Little Bilham also goes. But he of course goes for Mamie."

Miss Gostrey wondered. "'For' her? Do you mean they're already engaged?"

"Well," said Strether, "say then for *me*. He'll do anything for me; just as I will, for that matter—anything I can—for him. Or for Mamie either. *She'll* do anything for me."

Miss Gostrey gave a substantial sigh. "The way you reduce people to subjection!"

"It's certainly, on one side, wonderful. But it's quite equalled, on another, by the way I don't. I haven't reduced Sarah, since yesterday; though I've succeeded in seeing her again, as I'll presently tell you. The others, however, *are* all right. Mamie, by that blessed law of ours, *must* have a young man."

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"But what must poor Mr. Bilham have? Do you mean they'll *marry* for you?"

"I mean that, by the same blessed law, it won't matter a grain if they don't—I sha'n't have in the least to worry."

She saw, as usual, what he meant. "And Mr. Jim?—who goes for *him?*"

"Oh," Strether had to admit, "I couldn't manage *that.* He's thrown, as usual, on the world; the world which, after all, by his account—for he has prodigious adventures—seems very good to him. He fortunately—'over here,' as he says—finds the world everywhere; and his *most* prodigious adventure," he went on, "has been of course of the last few days."

Miss Gostrey, already knowing, instantly made the connection. "He has seen Marie again?"

"He went, all by himself, the day after Chad's party—didn't I tell you?—to tea with her. By her invitation—all alone."

"Quite like *you!*" Maria smiled.

"Oh, but he's more wonderful about her than I am!" And then as his friend showed how she could believe it, filling it out, fitting it on to old memories of the wonderful woman: "What I should have liked to manage would have been *her* going."

"To Switzerland with the party?"

"For Jim—and for symmetry. If it had been workable, moreover, for a fortnight, she'd have gone. She's ready"—he followed up his renewed vision of her—"for anything."

Miss Gostrey went with him a minute. "She's too perfect!"

"She *will,* I think," he pursued, "go to-night to the station."

"To see him off?"

"With Chad—marvellously—as part of their general attention. And she does it"—it kept before him—"with a light, light grace, a little free, free gayety, that may well softly bewilder Mr. Pocock."

It kept so before him that his companion had after an instant a friendly comment. "As, in short, it has softly bewildered *you.* Are you really in love with her?" Maria threw off.

"It's of no importance I should know," he replied: "it matters so little—has nothing to do, practically, with either of us."

"All the same"—Maria continued to smile—"they go, the five, as I understand you, and you and Mme. de Vionnet stay."

"Oh, and Chad." To which Strether added: "And you."

"Ah, 'me'!"—she gave a small impatient wail again, in which something of the unreconciled seemed suddenly to break out. "*I* don't stay, it somehow seems to me, much to my advantage. In the presence of all you cause to pass before me I've a tremendous sense of privation."

Strether hesitated. "But your privation, your keeping out of everything, has been—hasn't it?—by your own choice."

"Oh yes; it has been necessary—that is, it has been better for you. What I mean is only that I seem to have ceased to serve you."

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"How can you tell that?" he asked. "You don't know how you serve me. When you cease—"

"Well?" she said as he dropped.

"Well, I'll *let* you know. You can be quiet till then."

She thought a moment. "Then you positively like me to stay?"

"Don't I treat you as if I did?"

"You're certainly very kind to me. But that," said Maria, "is for myself. It's getting late, as you see, and Paris turning rather hot and dusty. People are scattering, and some of them, in other places, want me. But if you want me here—!"

She had spoken as resigned to his word, but he had of a sudden a still sharper sense than he would have expected of desiring not to lose her. "I want you here."

She took it as if the words were all she had wished; as if they brought her, gave her something that was the compensation of her case. "Thank you," she simply answered. And then as he looked at her a little harder, "Thank you very much," she repeated.

It had broken as with a slight arrest into the current of their talk, and it held him a moment longer. "Why, two months ago, did you so suddenly dash off? The reason you gave me for keeping away three weeks at that time was not the real one."

She recalled. "I never supposed you believed it was. Yet," she continued, "if you didn't guess it, that was just what helped you."

He looked away from her on this; he indulged, so far as space permitted, in one of his slow absences. "I've often thought of it, but never to feel that I could guess it. And you see the consideration with which I've treated you in never asking till now."

"Now then—why *do* you ask?"

"To show you how I miss you when you're not here, and what it does for me."

"It doesn't seem to have done," she laughed, "all it might! However," she added, "if you've really never guessed the truth, I'll tell it you."

"I've never guessed it," Strether declared.

"Never?"

"Never."

"Well then, I dashed off, as you say, so as not to have the confusion of being there if Marie de Vionnet should tell you anything to my detriment."

He looked, however, as if he still doubted. "You even then would have had to face it on your return."

"Oh, if I had found reason to believe it something very bad, I would have left you altogether."

"So then," he continued, "it was only on guessing she had been on the whole merciful that you ventured back?"

Maria kept it together. "I owe her thanks. Whatever her temptation, she didn't separate us. That's one of my reasons," she went on, "for admiring her so."

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"Let it pass then," said Strether, "for one of mine as well. But what would have been her temptation?"

"What are ever the temptations of women?"

He thought—but hadn't, naturally, to think too long. "Men?"

"She would have had you, with it, more for herself. But she saw she could have you without it."

"Oh, 'have' me!" Strether a trifle ambiguously sighed. "*You*," he handsomely declared, "would have had me at any rate *with* it."

"Oh, 'have' you!"—she echoed it as he had done. "I do have you, however," she less ironically said, "from the moment you express a wish."

He stopped before her, full of the disposition. "I'll express fifty."

Which indeed begot in her, with a certain inconsequence, a return of her small wail. "Ah, there you are!"

There, if it were so, he continued for the rest of the time to be, and it was as if to show her how she could still serve him that, coming back to the departure of the Pococks, he gave her the view, vivid with a hundred more touches than we can reproduce, of what had happened for him that morning. He had had ten minutes with Sarah at her hotel, ten minutes reconquered, by irresistible pressure, from the time over which he had already described her to Miss Gostrey as having, at the end of their interview at his own establishment, passed the great sponge of the future. He had caught her by not announcing himself, had found her in her sitting-room with a dressmaker and a *lingère*, whose accounts she appeared to have been more or less ingenuously settling, and who soon withdrew. Then he had explained to her how he had succeeded, late the night before, in keeping his promise of seeing Chad. "I told her I'd take it all."

"You'd 'take' it?"

"Why, if he doesn't go."

Maria waited. "And who takes it if he does?" she inquired with a certain grimness of gayety.

"Well," said Strether, "I think I take, in any event, everything."

"By which I suppose you mean," his companion brought out after a moment, "that you definitely understand you now lose everything."

He stood before her again. "It does come perhaps to the same thing. But Chad, now that he has seen, doesn't really want it."

She could believe that, but she made, as always, for clearness. "Still, what, after all, *has* he seen?"

"What they want of him. And it's enough."

"It contrasts so unfavorably with what Mme. de Vionnet wants?"

"It contrasts—just so; all round, and tremendously."

"Therefore, perhaps, most of all with what *you* want?"

"Oh," said Strether, "what I want is a thing I've ceased to measure or even to understand."

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But his friend none the less went on. "Do you want Mrs. Newsome—after such a way of treating you?"

It was a straighter way of dealing with this lady than they had as yet—such was their high form—permitted themselves; but it seemed not wholly for this that he delayed a moment. "I dare say it has been, after all, the only way she could have imagined."

"And does that make you want her any more?"

"I've tremendously disappointed her," Strether thought it worth while to mention.

"Of course you have. That's rudimentary; that was plain to us long ago. But isn't it almost as plain," Maria went on, "that you've even yet your straight remedy? Really drag him away, as I believe you still can, and you'd cease to have to count with her disappointment."

"Ah then," he laughed, "I should have to count with yours!"

But this barely struck her now. "What, in that case, should you call counting? You haven't come out where you are, I think, to please me."

"Oh," he insisted, "that too, you know, has been part of it. I can't separate—it's all one; and that's perhaps why, as I say, I don't understand." But he was ready to declare again that this didn't in the least matter; all the more that, as he affirmed, he *hadn't* really as yet "come out." "She gives me after all, on its coming to the pinch, a last mercy, another chance. They don't sail, you see, for five or six weeks more, and they haven't—she admits that—expected Chad would take part in their tour. It's still open to him to join them, at the last, at Liverpool."

Miss Gostrey considered. "How in the world is it 'open' unless you open it? How can he join them at Liverpool if he but sinks deeper into his situation here?"

"He has given her—as I explained to you that she let me know yesterday—his word of honor to do as I say."

Maria stared. "But if you say nothing!"

Well, he, as usual, walked about on it. "I did say something this morning. I gave her my answer—the word I had promised her after hearing from himself what *he* had promised. What she demanded of me yesterday, you'll remember, was the engagement then and there to make him take up this vow."

"Well then," Miss Gostrey inquired, "was the purpose of your visit to her only to decline?"

"No; it was to ask, odd as that may seem to you, for another delay."

"Ah, that's weak!"

"Precisely!" She had spoken with impatience, but, so far as that at least, he knew where he was. "If I *am* weak I want to find it out. If I don't find it out I shall have the comfort, the little glory, of thinking I'm strong."

"It's all the comfort, I judge," she returned, "that you *will* have!"

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"At any rate," he said, "it will have been a month more. Paris may grow, from day to day, hot and dusty, as you say; but there are other things that are hotter and dustier. I'm not afraid to stay on; the summer here must be amusing in a wild—if it isn't a tame—way of its own; the place at no time more picturesque. I think I shall like it. And then," he benevolently smiled for her, "there will be always you."

"Oh," she objected, "it won't be as a part of the picturesqueness that I shall stay, for I shall be the plainest thing about you. You may, you see, at any rate," she pursued, "have nobody else. Mme. de Vionnet may very well be going off, mayn't she?—and Mr. Newsome by the same stroke: unless, indeed, you've had an assurance from them to the contrary. So that if your idea's to stay for them"—it was her duty to suggest it—"you may be left in the lurch. Of course if they do stay"—she kept it up—"they would be part of the picturesqueness. Or else indeed you might join them somewhere."

Strether seemed to face it as if it were a happy thought; but the next moment he spoke more critically. "Do you mean that they'll probably go off together?"

She just considered. "I think it will be treating you quite without ceremony if they do; though, after all," she added, "it would be difficult to see, now, quite what degree of ceremony properly meets your case."

"Of course," Strether conceded, "my attitude toward them is extraordinary."

"Just so; so that it will be hard to see what style of proceeding on their own part can altogether match it. The attitude of their own that won't pale in its light they've doubtless still to work out. The really handsome thing, perhaps," she presently threw off, "*would* be for them to withdraw into more secluded conditions, offering at the same time to share them with you." He looked at her, on this, as if some generous irritation—all on his behalf—had suddenly again flickered in her; and what she next said, indeed, half explained it. "Don't really be afraid to tell me if what now holds you *is* the pleasant prospect of the empty town, with plenty of seats in the shade, cool drinks, deserted museums, drives to the Bois in the evening, and our wonderful woman all to yourself." And she kept it up still more. "The handsomest thing of *all*, when one makes it out, would, I dare say, be that Mr. Chad should for a while go off by himself. It's a pity, from that point of view," she wound up, "that he does *not* pay his mother a visit. It would at least occupy your interval." The thought in fact held her a moment. "*Why* doesn't he pay his mother a visit? Even a week, at this good moment, would do."

"My dear lady," Strether replied—and he had it even to himself surprisingly ready—"my dear lady, his mother *has* paid him a visit. Mrs. Newsome has been with him, this month, with an intensity that I'm sure he has thoroughly felt; he has lavishly entertained

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her, and she has let him have her thanks. Do you suggest he shall go back for more of them?"

"Well"—she succeeded after a little in shaking it off. "I see. It's what you don't suggest—what you haven't. And you know."

"So would you, my dear," he kindly said, "if you had so much as seen her."

"As seen Mrs. Newsome?"

"No, Sarah—which, both for Chad and for myself, has served all the purpose."

"And served it in a manner," she responsively mused, "so extraordinary!"

"Well, you see," he partly explained, "what it comes to is that she's all cold thought; so that Sarah could serve it to us cold without its really losing anything. So it is that we know what she thinks of us."

Maria had followed, but she had an arrest. "What I've never made out, if you come to that, is what you think—I mean you personally—of *her*. Don't you so much, when all's said, as care a little?"

"That," he answered with no loss of promptness, "is what even Chad himself asked me last night. He asked me if I don't mind the loss—well, the loss of an opulent future. Which, moreover," he hastened to add, "was a perfectly natural question."

"I call your attention, all the same," said Miss Gostrey, "to the fact that I don't ask it. What I venture to ask is whether it's to Mrs. Newsome herself that you're indifferent."

"I haven't been so"—he spoke with all assurance. "I've been the very opposite. I've been, from the first moment, preoccupied with the impression everything might be making on her—quite oppressed, haunted, tormented by it. I've been interested *only* in her seeing what I've seen. And I've been as disappointed in her refusal to see it as she has been in what has appeared to her the perversity of my insistence."

"Do you mean that she has shocked you as you've shocked her?"

Strether hesitated. "I'm doubtless not so shockable. But, on the other hand, I've gone much further to meet her. She, on her side, hasn't budged an inch."

"So that you're now at last"—Maria pointed the moral—"in the sad stage of recriminations."

"No—it's only to you I speak. I've been like a lamb to Sarah. I've only put my back to the wall. It's to *that* one naturally staggers when one has been violently pushed there?"

She watched him a moment. "Thrown over?"

"Well, I feel so that I've landed somewhere, that I think I must have been thrown."

She turned it over, but as hoping to clarify much rather than to harmonize. "The thing is that I suppose you've been disappointing—"

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"Quite from the very first of my arrival? I dare say. I admit I was surprising even to myself."

"And then, of course," Maria went on, "I had much to do with it."

"With my being surprising—?"

"That will do," she laughed, "if you're too delicate to call it *my* being! Naturally," she added, "you came over more or less for surprises."

"Naturally!"—he valued the reminder.

"But they were to have been all for you"—she continued to piece it out—"and none of them for *her*."

Once more he stopped before her as if she had touched the point. "That's just her difficulty—that she doesn't admit surprises. It's a fact that, I think, describes and represents her; and it falls in with what I tell you—that she's all, as I've called it, fine cold thought. She had, to her own mind, worked the whole thing out in advance, and worked it out for me as well as for herself. Whenever she has done that, you see, there's no room left; no margin, as it were, for any alteration. She's filled as full, packed as tight, as she'll hold, and if you wish to get anything more or different either out or in—"

"You've got to make over, altogether, the woman herself?"

"What it comes to," said Strether, "is that you've got morally and intellectually to get rid of her."

"Which would appear," Maria returned, "to be practically what you've done."

But her friend threw back his head. "I haven't touched her. She won't *be* touched. I see it now as I've never done; and she hangs together with a perfection of her own," he went on, "that does suggest a kind of wrong in *any* change in her composition. It was at any rate," he wound up, "the woman herself, as you call her, the whole moral and intellectual being or block, that Sarah brought me over to take or to leave."

It turned Miss Gostrey to deeper thought. "Fancy having to take at the point of the bayonet a whole moral and intellectual being or block!"

"It was in fact," said Strether, "what, at home, I *had* done. But somehow, over there, I didn't quite know it."

"One never does, I suppose," Miss Gostrey concurred, "realize in advance, in such a case, the size, as you may say, of the block. Little by little it looms up. It has been looming for you more and more, till at last you see it all."

"I see it all," he absently echoed, while his eyes might have been fixing some particularly large iceberg in a cool blue northern sea. "It's magnificent!" he then rather oddly exclaimed.

But his friend, who was used to this kind of inconsequence in him, kept the thread. "There's nothing so magnificent—for making others feel you—as to have no imagination."

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It brought him straight round. "Ah, there you are! It's what I said last night to Chad. That he himself, I mean, has none."

"Then it would appear," Maria suggested, "that he has, after all, something in common with his mother."

"He has in common that he makes one, as you say, 'feel' him. And yet," he added, as if the question were interesting, "one feels others too, even when they have plenty."

Miss Gostrey continued suggestive. "Mme. de Vionnet?"

"*She* has plenty."

"Certainly—she had quantities of old. But there are different ways of making oneself felt."

"Yes, it comes, no doubt, to that. You now—"

He was benevolently going on, but she wouldn't have it. "Oh, I *don't* make myself felt; so *my* quantity needn't be settled. Yours, you know," she went on, "is monstrous. No one has ever had so much."

It struck him for a moment. "That's what Chad also said."

"There *you* are then—though it isn't for him to complain of it!"

"Oh, he doesn't complain of it," said Strether.

"That's all that would be wanting! But apropos of what," Maria went on, "did the question come up?"

"Well, of his asking me what it is I gain."

She had a pause. "Then, as I've asked you too, it settles *my* case. Oh, you *have*," she repeated, "treasures!"

But he had been for an instant thinking away from this, and he came up in another place. "And yet Mrs. Newsome—it's a thing to remember—*has* imagined, did, that is, imagine, and apparently still does, horrors about what I should have found. I was booked, by her vision—extraordinarily intense, after all—to find them; and that I didn't, that I couldn't, that, as she evidently felt, I wouldn't—this evidently didn't at all, as they say, 'suit' her book. It was more than she could bear. That was her disappointment."

"You mean you were to have found Chad himself horrible?"

"I was to have found the woman."

"Horrible?"

"Found her as she imagined her." And Strether paused as if for his own expression of it he could add no touch to that picture.

His companion had meanwhile thought. "She imagined stupidly—so it comes to the same thing."

"Stupidly? Oh!" said Strether.

But she insisted. "She imagined meanly."

He had it, however, better. "It couldn't but be ignorantly."

"Well, intensity with ignorance—what do you want worse?"

This question might have held him, but he let it pass. "Sarah isn't ignorant—now; she keeps up the theory of the horrible."

"Ah, but she's intense—and that by itself will do sometimes as well. If it doesn't do, in this case, at any rate, to deny that Marie's charming, it will do at least to deny that she's good."

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"What I claim is that she's good for Chad."

"You *don't* claim"—she seemed to like it clear—"that she's good for *you*."

But he continued without heeding. "That's what I wanted them to come out for—to see for themselves if she's bad for him."

"And now that they've done so, they won't admit that she's good even for anything?"

"They do think," Strether presently admitted, "that she's on the whole about as bad for me. But they're consistent, of course, inasmuch as they've their clear view of what's good for both of us."

"For you, to begin with"—Maria, all responsive, confined the question for the moment—"to eliminate from your existence and if possible even from your memory, the dreadful creature that *I* must gruesomely shadow forth for them, even more than to eliminate the distincter evil—thereby a little less portentous—of the person whose confederate you've suffered yourself to become. However, that's comparatively simple. You can easily, at the worst, after all, give me up."

"I can easily at the worst, after all, give you up." The irony was so obvious that it needed no care. "I can easily at the worst, after all, even forget you."

"Call that then workable. But Mr. Newsome has much more to forget. How can *he* do it?"

"Ah, there again we are! That's just what I was to have made him do; just where I was to have worked with him and helped."

She took it in silence and without attenuation—as if perhaps from very familiarity with the facts; and her thought made a connection without showing the links. "Do you remember how we used to talk at Chester and in London about my seeing you through?" She spoke as of far-off things and as if they had spent weeks at the places she named.

"It's just what you *are* doing."

"Ah, but the worst—since you've left such a margin—may be still to come. You may yet break down."

"Yes, I may yet break down. But will you take me—?"

He had hesitated, and she waited. "Take you—?"

"For as long as I can bear it."

She also debated. "Mr. Newsome and Mme. de Vionnet *may*, as we were saying, leave town. How long do you think you can bear it without them?"

Strether's reply to this was at first another question. "Do you mean in order to get away from me?"

Her answer had an abruptness. "Don't find me rude if I say I should think they'd want to!"

He looked at her hard again—seemed even for an instant to have an intensity of thought under which his color changed. But he smiled. "You mean after what they've done to me?"

"After what *she* has."

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At this, however, with a laugh he was all right again. "Ah, but she hasn't done it yet!"

XXIX.

He had taken the train, a few days after this, from a station—as well as *to* a station—selected almost at random; such days, whatever should happen, were numbered, and he had gone forth under the impulse—artless enough, no doubt—to give the whole of one of them to that French ruralism, with its cool special green, into which he had hitherto looked only through the little oblong window of the picture-frame. It had been as yet, for the most part, but a land of fancy for him—the background of fiction, the medium of art, the nursery of letters; practically as distant as Greece, but practically, also, almost as consecrated. Romance could weave itself, for Strether's sense, out of elements mild enough; and even after what he had, as he felt, lately "been through," he could thrill a little at the chance of seeing something somewhere that would remind him of a certain small Lambinet that had charmed him, long years before, at a Boston dealer's, and that he had, quite absurdly, never forgotten. It had been offered, he remembered, at a price he had been instructed to believe the lowest ever named for a Lambinet, a price he had never felt so poor as on having to recognize, all the same, as beyond any dream of his. He *had* dreamed—had turned and twisted possibilities for an hour; it had been the only adventure of his life in connection with the purchase of a work of art. The adventure, it will be perceived, was modest; but the memory, beyond all reason and by some accident of association, was sweet. The little Lambinet abode with him as the picture he *would* have bought—the particular production that had made him for the moment overstep the modesty of nature. He was quite aware that if he were to see it again he should perhaps have a drop or a shock, and he never found himself wishing that the wheel of time would turn it up again, just as he had seen it in the maroon-colored, sky-lighted inner shrine of Tremont Street. It would be a different thing, however, to see the remembered mixture resolved back into its elements,—to assist at the restoration to nature of the whole far-away hour—the dusty day in Boston, the background of the Fitchburg Depot, of the maroon-colored sanctum, the special-green vision, the ridiculous price, the poplars, the willows, the rushes, the river, the sunny, silvery sky, the shady, woody horizon.

He observed in respect to his train almost no condition save that it should stop a few times after getting out of the *banlieue;* he threw himself on the general amiability of the day for the hint of where to alight. His theory of his excursion was that he could alight anywhere—not nearer Paris than an hour's run—on catching a suggestion of the particular note required. It made its sign, the suggestion—weather, air, light, color and his mood all favoring—at the end of some eighty minutes; the train pulled up at just the right

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spot, and he found himself getting out as securely as if to keep an appointment. It will be felt of him that he could amuse himself, at his age, with very small things if it be again noted that his appointment was only with a superseded Boston fashion. He had not gone far without the quick confidence that it would be quite sufficiently kept. The oblong gilt frame disposed its enclosing lines; the poplars and willows, the reeds and river—a river of which he didn't know, and didn't want to know, the name—fell into a composition, full of felicity, within them; the sky was silver and turquoise and varnish; the village on the left was white and the church on the right was gray; it was all there, in short—it was what he wanted: it was Tremont Street, it was France, it was Lambinet. Moreover he was freely walking about in it. He did this last, for an hour, to his heart's content, making for the shady, woody horizon and boring so deep into his impression and his idleness that he might fairly have got through them again and reached the maroon-colored wall. It was a wonder, no doubt, that the taste of idleness, for him, should not need more time to sweeten; but it had in fact taken the few previous days; it had been sweetening, in truth, ever since the retreat of the Pococks. He walked and walked as if to show himself how little he had now to do; he had nothing to do but turn off to some hillside where he might stretch himself and hear the poplars rustle, and whence—in the course of an afternoon so spent, an afternoon richly suffused, too, with the sense of a book in his pocket—he should sufficiently command the scene to be able to pick out just the right little rustic inn for an experiment in respect to dinner. There was a train back to Paris at 9.20, and he saw himself partaking, at the close of the day, with the enhancements of a coarse white cloth and a sanded floor, of something fried and felicitous, washed down with authentic wine; after which he might, as he liked, either stroll back to his station in the gloaming or propose for the local *carriole* and converse with his driver, a driver who naturally wouldn't fail of a stiff clean blouse, of a knitted nightcap and of the genius of response—who, in fine, would sit on the shafts, tell him what the French people were thinking, and remind him, as indeed the whole episode would incidentally do, of Maupassant. Strether heard his lips, for the first time in French air, as this vision assumed consistency, emit sounds of expressive intention without fear of his company. He had been afraid of Chad and of Maria and of Mme. de Vionnet; he had been most of all afraid of Waymarsh, in whose presence, so far as they had mixed together in the light of the town, he had never without somehow paying for it aired either his vocabulary or his accent. He usually paid for it by meeting immediately afterwards Waymarsh's eye.

Such were the liberties with which his fancy played after he had turned off to the hillside that did really and truly, as well as most amiably, await him beneath the poplars, the hillside that made him feel, for a murmurous couple of hours, how happy had been his

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thought. He had the sense of success, of a finer harmony in things; nothing but what had turned out, as yet, according to his plan. It most of all came home to him, as he lay on his back on the grass, that Sarah had really gone, that his tension was really relaxed; the peace diffused in these ideas might be delusive, but it hung about him, none the less, for the time. It fairly, for half an hour, sent him to sleep; he pulled his straw hat over his eyes—he had bought it the day before with a reminiscence of Waymarsh's—and lost himself anew in Lambinet. It was as if he had found out he was tired—tired not from his walk, but from that inward exercise which had known, on the whole, for three months, so little intermission. That was it—when once they were off he had dropped; this, moreover, was what he had dropped to, and now he was touching bottom. He was kept luxuriously quiet, soothed and amused, by the consciousness of what he had found at the end of his descent. It was very much what he had told Maria Gostrey he should like to stay on for, the hugely distributed Paris of summer, alternately dazzling and dusky, with a weight lifted for him off its columns and cornices, and with shade and air in the flutter of awnings as wide as avenues. It was present to him without attenuation that, reaching out, the day after making the remark, for some proof of his freedom, he had gone that very afternoon to see Mme. de Vionnet. He had gone again the next day but one, and the effect of the two visits, the after-sense of the couple of hours spent with her, was almost that of fulness and frequency. The brave intention of frequency, so great with him from the moment of his finding himself unjustly suspected at Woollett, had remained rather theoretic, and one of the things he could muse about under his poplars was the source of the special shyness that had still made him careful. He had surely got rid of it now, this special shyness; what had become of it if it had not, precisely, within the week, rubbed off?

It struck him now in fact as sufficiently plain that if he had still been careful he had been so for a reason. He had really feared, in his behavior, a lapse from good faith; if there was a danger of one's liking such a woman too much, one's best safety was in waiting at least till one had the right to do so. In the light of the last few days the danger was fairly vivid; so that it was proportionately fortunate that the right was likewise established. It seemed to our friend that he had on each occasion profited to the utmost by the latter: how could he have done so more, he at all events asked himself, than in having immediately let her know that, if it was all the same to her, he preferred not to talk about anything tiresome? He had never in his life so sacrificed an armful of high interests as in that remark; he had never so prepared the way for the comparatively frivolous as in addressing it to Mme. de Vionnet's intelligence. It had not been till later that he quite recalled how in conjuring away everything but the pleasant he had conjured away almost all they had hitherto talked about; it was not till later, even,

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that he remembered that, with their new tone, they had not so much as mentioned the name of Chad himself. One of the things that most lingered with him on his hillside was this delightful facility, with such a woman, of arriving at a new tone; he thought, as he lay on his back, of all the tones she might make possible if one were to try her, and at any rate of the probability that one could trust her to fit them to occasions. He had wanted her to feel that as he was disinterested now, so she herself should be, and she had showed she felt it, and he had showed he was grateful, and it had been, for all the world, as if he were calling for the first time. They had had other, but irrelevant, meetings; it was quite as if, had they sooner known how much they *really* had in common, there were quantities of comparatively dull matters they might have skipped. Well, they were skipping them now, even to graceful gratitude, even to handsome "Don't mention it!"—and it was amazing what could still come up without reference to what had been going on between them. It might have been, on analysis, nothing more than Shakespeare and the musical glasses; but it had served all the purpose of his appearing to have said to her: "Don't like me, if it's a question of liking me, for anything obvious and clumsy that I've, as they call it, 'done' for you: like me—well, like me, hang it, for anything else you choose. So, by the same propriety, don't be for me simply the person I've come to know through my awkward connection with Chad—was ever anything, by the way, *more* awkward? Be for me, please, with all your admirable tact and trust, just whatever I may show you it's a present pleasure to me to think you." It had been a large indication to meet; but if she hadn't met it what *had* she done, and how had their time together slipped along so smoothly, mild but not slow, and melting, liquefying, into his happy illusion of idleness? He could recognize on the other hand that he had probably not been without reason, in his prior, his restricted state, for keeping an eye on his liability to lapse from good faith.

He really continued in the picture—that being for himself his situation—all the rest of this rambling day; so that the charm was still, was indeed more than ever, upon him when, towards six o'clock, he found himself amicably engaged with a stout, white-capped, deep-voiced woman at the door of the *auberge* of the biggest village, a village that affected him as a thing of whiteness, blueness and crookedness, set in coppery green, and that had the river flowing behind or before it—one couldn't say which; at the bottom, in particular, of the inn-garden. He had had other adventures before this; had kept along the height, after shaking off slumber; had admired, had almost coveted, another small old church, all steep roof and dim slate-color without and all whitewash and paper flowers within; had lost his way and had found it again; had conversed with rustics who struck him perhaps a little more as men of the world than he had expected; had acquired at a bound a fearless

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facility in French; had had, as the afternoon waned, a watery *bock,* all pale and Parisian, in the café of the furthest village, which was not the biggest; and had all the while not once overstepped the oblong gilt frame. The frame had drawn itself out for him, as much as you please; but that was just his luck. He had finally come down again to the valley, to keep within touch of stations and trains, turning his face to the quarter from which he had started; and thus it was that he had at last pulled up before the hostess of the Cheval Blanc, who met him, with a rough readiness that was like the clatter of sabots over stones, on their common ground of a *côtelette de veau à l'oseille* and a subsequent lift. He had walked many miles and knew not that he was tired; but he still knew that he was amused, and even that, though he had been alone all day, he had never yet so struck himself as engaged with others and in midstream of his drama. It might have passed for finished, his drama, with its catastrophe all but reached: it had, however, none the less been vivid again for him as he thus gave it its fuller chance. He had only had to be at last well out of it to feel it, oddly enough, still going on.

For this had been all day, at bottom, the spell of the picture—that it was essentially, more than anything else, a scene and a stage, that the very air of the play was in the rustle of the willows and the tone of the sky. The play and the characters had, without his knowing it till now, peopled all his space for him, and it seemed somehow quite happy that they should offer themselves, in the conditions so supplied, with a kind of inevitability. It was as if the conditions made them not only inevitable, but so much more nearly natural and right as that they were at least easier, pleasanter, to put up with. The conditions had nowhere so asserted their difference from those of Woollett as they appeared to him to assert it in the little court of the Cheval Blanc while he arranged with his hostess for a comfortable climax. They were few and simple, scant and humble, but they were *the thing,* as he would have called it, even to a greater degree than Mme. de Vionnet's old, high salon, where the ghost of the Empire walked. "The" thing was the thing that implied the greatest number of other things of the sort he had had to tackle; and it was queer, of course, but so it was—the implication here was complete. Not a single one of his observations but somehow fell into a place in it; not a breath of the cooler evening that wasn't somehow a syllable of the text. The text was simply, when condensed, that in *these* places such things were, and that if it was in them one elected to move about, one had to make one's account with what one lighted on. Meanwhile, at all events, it was enough that they did affect one—so far as the village aspect was concerned—as whiteness, crookedness and blueness set in coppery green; there being positively, for that matter, an outer wall of the White Horse that was painted the most improbable shade. That was part of the amusement—as if to show that the fun was harmless; just as it was enough, further, that the picture and the play seemed supremely

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to melt together in the good woman's broad sketch of what she could do for her visitor's appetite. He felt, in short, a confidence, and it was general, and it was all he wanted to feel. It suffered no shock even on her mentioning that she had in fact just laid the cloth for two persons who, unlike Monsieur, had arrived by the river—in a boat of their own; who had asked her half an hour before, what she could do for them, and had then paddled away to look at something a little further up—from which promenade they would presently return. Monsieur might meanwhile, if he liked, pass into the garden, such as it was, where she would serve him, should he wish it—for there were tables and benches in plenty—a "bitter" before his repast. Here she would also report to him on the possibility of a conveyance to his station, and here, at any rate, he would have the *agrément* of the river.

It may be mentioned without delay that Monsieur had the *agrément* of everything, and in particular, for the next twenty minutes, of a small and primitive pavilion that, at the garden's edge, almost overhung the water, testifying, in its somewhat battered state, to much fond frequentation. It consisted of little more than a platform, slightly raised, with a couple of benches and a table, a protecting rail and a projecting roof; but it raked the full gray-blue stream, which, taking a turn a short distance above, passed out of sight to reappear much higher up; and it was clearly in esteemed requisition for Sundays and other feasts. Strether sat there and, though hungry, felt at peace; the confidence that had so gathered for him deepened with the lap of the water, the ripple of the surface, the rustle of the reeds on the opposite bank, the faint diffused coolness and the slight rock of a couple of small boats attached to a rough landing-place hard by. The valley on the further side was all copper-green level and glazed pearly sky, a sky hatched across with screens of trimmed trees, which looked flat, like *espaliers;* and, though the rest of the village straggled away in the near quarter, the view had an emptiness that made one of the boats suggestive. Such a river set one afloat almost before one could take up the oars —the idle play of which would be moreover the aid to the full impression. This perception went so far as to bring him to his feet; but that movement, in turn, made him feel afresh that he was tired, and while he leaned against a post and continued to look out he saw something that gave him a sharper arrest.

XXX.

What he saw was exactly the right thing—a boat advancing round the bend and containing a man who held the paddles and a lady, at the stern, with a pink parasol. It was suddenly as if these figures, or something like them, had been wanted in the picture, had been wanted, more or less, all day, and had now drifted into sight, with the slow current, on purpose to fill up the measure. They

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came slowly, floating down, evidently making for the landing-place near their spectator and presenting themselves to him not less clearly as the two persons for whom his hostess was already preparing a meal. For two very happy persons he found himself straightway taking them—a young man in shirt-sleeves, a young woman easy and fair, who had pulled pleasantly up from some other place and, being acquainted with the neighborhood, had known what this particular retreat could offer them. The air quite thickened, at their approach, with further intimations; the intimation that they were expert, familiar, frequent—that this wouldn't, at all events, be the first time. They knew how to do it, he vaguely felt—and it made them but the more idyllic; though at the very moment of the impression, as happened, their boat seemed to have begun to drift wide, the oarsman letting it go. It had by this time, none the less, come much nearer—near enough for Strether to fancy the lady in the stern had, for some reason, taken account of his being there to watch them. She had remarked on it sharply, yet her companion had not turned round; it was in fact almost as if our friend had felt her bid him keep still. She had taken in something as a result of which their course had wavered, and it continued to waver while they just stood off. This little effect was sudden and rapid, so rapid that Strether's sense of it was separate only for an instant from a sharp start of his own. He too had, within the minute, taken in something, taken in that he knew the lady whose parasol, shifting as if to hide her face, made so fine a pink point in the shining scene. It was too prodigious, a chance in a million; but, if he knew the lady, the gentleman, who still presented his back and kept off, the gentleman, the coatless hero of the idyl, who had responded to her start, was, to match the marvel, none other than Chad.

Chad and Mme. de Vionnet were, then, like himself, taking a day in the country—though it was as queer as fiction, as farce, that their country could happen to be exactly *his;* and she had been the first at recognition, the first to feel, across the water, the shock—for it appeared to come to that—of their wonderful accident. Strether became aware, with this, of what was taking place—that her recognition had been even stranger for the pair in the boat, that her immediate impulse had been to control it, and that she was quickly and intensely debating with Chad the risk of betrayal. He saw they would show nothing if they could feel sure he hadn't made them out; so that he had before him for a few seconds his own hesitation. It was a sharp, fantastic crisis that had popped up as if in a dream, and it had had only to last the few seconds to make him feel it as quite horrible. They were thus, on either side, *trying* the other side, and all for some reason that broke the stillness like some unprovoked harsh note. It seemed to him again, within the limit, that he had but one thing to do—to settle their common question by some sign of surprise and joy. He hereupon gave large play

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to these things, agitating his hat and his stick and loudly calling out—a demonstration that brought him relief as soon as he had seen it answered. The boat, in mid-stream, still went a little wild—which seemed natural, however, while Chad turned round, half springing up; and his good friend, after blankness and wonder, began gayly to wave her parasol. Chad dropped afresh to his paddles and the boat headed round, amazement and pleasantry filling the air meanwhile, and relief, as Strether continued to fancy, superseding mere violence. Our friend went down to the water under this odd impression as of violence averted—the violence of their having "cut" him, out there in the eye of nature, on the assumption that he wouldn't know it. He awaited them with a face from which he was conscious of not being able quite to banish this idea that they would have gone on, not seeing and not knowing, missing their dinner and disappointing their hostess, had he himself taken a line to match. That, at least, was what darkened his vision for the moment; afterwards, after they had bumped at the landing-place and he had assisted their getting ashore, everything found itself sponged over by the mere miracle of the encounter.

They could so much better, at last, on either side, treat it as a wild fable than as anything else, that the situation was made elastic by the amount of explanation called into play. Why indeed—apart from oddity—the situation should have been really stiff, was a question naturally not practical at the moment, and in fact, so far as we are concerned, a question tackled, later on and in private, only by Strether himself. He was to reflect later on and in private that it was mainly *he* who had explained—as he had had moreover comparatively little difficulty in doing. He was to have, at all events, meanwhile, the worrying thought of their perhaps secretly suspecting him of having plotted this coincidence, taking such pains as might be to give it the semblance of an accident. That possibility—as their imputation—didn't of course bear looking into for an instant; yet the whole incident was so manifestly, arrange it as they would, an awkward one, that he could scarce keep disclaimers in respect to his own presence from rising to his lips. Disclaimers of intention would have been as tactless as his presence was, practically, gross; and the narrowest escape they either of them had was his lucky escape, in the event, from making any. Nothing of the sort, so far as surface and sound were involved, was even in question; surface and sound all made for their common ridiculous good fortune, for the general *invraisemblance* of the occasion, for the charming chance that they had, the others, in passing, ordered some food to be ready, the charming chance that he had himself not eaten, the charming chance, even more, that their little plans, their hours, their train, in short, from *là-bas*, would all match for their return together to Paris. The chance that was most charming of all, the chance that drew from Mme. de Vionnet her clearest, gayest "*Comme cela se trouve!*" was the announcement

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made to Strether after they were seated at table, the word given him by their hostess in respect to his carriage for the station, on which he might now count. It settled the matter for his friends as well; the conveyance—it *was* all too lucky!—would serve for them; and nothing was more delightful than his being in a position to make the train so definite. It might have been, for themselves—to hear Mme. de Vionnet—almost unnaturally vague, a detail left to be fixed; though Strether indeed was afterwards to remember that Chad had promptly enough intervened to forestall this appearance, laughing at his companion's flightiness and making the point that he had, after all, in spite of the bedazzlement of a day out with her, known what he was about.

Strether was to remember afterwards, further, that this had had for him the effect of forming Chad's almost sole intervention; and indeed he was to remember further still, in subsequent meditation, many things that, as it were, fitted together. Another of them was, for instance, that the wonderful woman's overflow of surprise and amusement was wholly into French, which she struck him as speaking with an unprecedented command of idiomatic turns, but in which she got, as he might have said, somewhat away from him, taking all at once little brilliant jumps that he could but lamely match. The question of his own French had never come up for them; it was the one thing she wouldn't have permitted—it belonged, for a person who had been through much, to mere boredom; but the present result was odd, fairly veiling her identity, shifting her back into a mere voluble class or race to the intense audibility of which he was by this time inured. When she spoke the charming slightly strange English he best knew her by, he seemed to feel her as a creature, among all the millions, with a language quite to herself, the real monopoly of a special shade of speech, beautifully easy for her, yet of a color and a cadence that were both inimitable and matters of accident. She came back to these things after they had shaken down in the inn-parlor and knew, as it were, what was to become of them; it was inevitable that mere ejaculation over the prodigy of their convergence should at last wear itself out. Then it was that his impression took fuller form—the impression, destined only to deepen, to complete itself, that they had something to put a face upon, to carry off and make the best of, and that it was she who, admirably on the whole, was doing this. It was familiar to him of course that they had something to put a face upon; their friendship, their connection, took any amount of explaining—that would have been made familiar by his twenty minutes with Mrs. Pocock if it hadn't already been so. Only, his theory, as we know, had bountifully been that the facts were, specifically, none of his business, and were, over and above, so far as one had to do with them, intrinsically beautiful; and this might have prepared him for anything, as well as rendered him proof against mystification. When he reached home that night, however, he knew he had been, at bot-

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tom, neither prepared nor proof; and since we have spoken of what he was, after his return, to recall and interpret, it may as well immediately be said that his real experience of these few hours put on, in that belated vision,—for he scarce went to bed till morning—the aspect that is most to our purpose.

He then knew more or less how he had been affected—he but half knew at the time. There had been plenty to affect him even after, as has been said, they had shaken down; for his consciousness, though muffled, had its sharpest moments during this passage, a marked drop into innocent, friendly Bohemia. They then had put their elbows on the table, deploring the premature end of their two or three dishes; which they had tried to make up with another bottle while Chad joked a little spasmodically, perhaps even a little irrelevantly, with the hostess. What it all came to had been that fiction and fable *were,* inevitably, in the air, and not as a simple term of comparison, but as a result of things said; also that they were blinking it, all round, and that they yet needn't, so much as that, have blinked it—though indeed if they hadn't Strether didn't quite see what else they could have done. Strether didn't quite see *that* even at an hour or two past midnight, even when he had, at his hotel, for a long time, without a light and without undressing, sat back on his bedroom sofa and stared straight before him. He was, at that point of vantage, in full possession, to make of it all what he could. He kept making of it that there had been simply a *lie* in the charming affair—a lie on which one could now, detached and deliberate, perfectly put one's finger. It was with the lie that they had eaten and drunk and talked and laughed, that they had waited for their *carriole* rather impatiently, and had then got into the vehicle and, sensibly subsiding, driven their three or four miles through the darkening summer night. The eating and drinking, which had been a resource, had had the effect of having served its turn; the talk and laughter had done as much; and it was during their somewhat tedious progress to the station, during the waits there, the further delays, their submission to fatigue, their silences in the dim compartment of the much-stopping train, that he prepared himself for reflections to come. It had been a performance, Mme. de Vionnet's manner, and though it had to that degree faltered toward the end, as through her ceasing to believe in it, as if she had asked herself, or Chad had found a moment surreptitiously to ask her, what, after all, was the use, a performance it had none the less quite handsomely remained, with the final fact about it that it was, on the whole, easier to keep up than to abandon.

From the point of view of presence of mind it had been very wonderful indeed, wonderful for readiness, for beautiful assurance, for the way her decision was taken on the spot, without time to confer with Chad, without time for anything. Their only conference could have been the brief instants in the boat before they confessed to recognizing the spectator on the bank, for they had not

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been alone together a moment since and must have communicated all in silence. It was a part of the deep impression for Strether, and not the least of the deep interest, that they *could* so communicate—that Chad, in particular, could let her know he left it to her. He habitually left things to others, as Strether was so well aware, and it in fact came over our friend in these meditations that there had been as yet no such vivid illustration of his famous knowing how to live. It was as if he had humored her to the extent of letting her lie without correction—almost as if, really, he would be coming round in the morning to set the matter, as between Strether and himself, right. Of course he couldn't quite come; it was a case in which a man was obliged to accept the woman's version, even when fantastic; if she had, with more flurry than she cared to show, elected, as the phrase was, to represent that they had left Paris that morning, and with no design but of getting back within the day—if she had so sized-up, in the Woollett phrase, their necessity, she knew best her own measure. There were things, all the same, it was impossible to blink and which made this measure an odd one—the too evident fact, for instance, that she had not started out for the day dressed and hatted and shod, and even, for that matter, pink parasol'd, as she had been in the boat. From what did the drop in her assurance proceed as the tension increased—from what did this slightly baffled ingenuity spring but from her consciousness of not presenting, as night closed in, with not so much as a shawl to wrap her round, an appearance that matched her story? She admitted that she was cold, but only to blame her imprudence, which Chad suffered her to give such account of as she might. Her shawl and Chad's overcoat, and her other garments, and his, those they had each worn the day before, were at the place, best known to themselves—a quiet retreat enough, no doubt—at which they had been spending the twenty-four hours, to which they had fully meant to return that evening, from which they had so remarkably swum into Strether's ken and the tacit repudiation of which had been thus the essence of her comedy. Strether saw how she had perceived in a flash that they couldn't quite look to going back there under his nose; though, honestly, as he gauged deeper into the matter, he was somewhat surprised, as Chad likewise had perhaps been, at the uprising of this scruple. He seemed even to divine that she had entertained it rather for Chad than for herself, and that, as the young man had lacked the chance to enlighten her, she had had to go on with it, he meanwhile mistaking her motive.

He was rather glad, none the less, that they had in point of fact not parted at the Cheval Blanc, that he had not been reduced to giving them his blessing for an idyllic retreat down the river. He had had in the actual case to make believe more than he liked, but this was nothing, it struck him, to what the other event would have required. Could he, literally, quite have faced the other event? Would he have been capable of making the best of it with them?

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This was what he was trying to do now; but with the advantage of his being able to give more time to it a good deal counteracted by his sense of what, over and above the central fact itself, he had to swallow. It was the quantity of make-believe involved, and so vividly exemplified, that most disagreed with his spiritual stomach. He moved, however, from the consideration of that quantity—to say nothing of the consciousness of that organ—back to the other feature of the show, the deep, deep truth of the intimacy revealed. That was what, in his vain vigil, he oftenest reverted to: intimacy, at such a point, was *like* that—and what in the world else would one have wished it to be like? It was all very well for him to feel the pity of its being so much like lying; he almost blushed, in the dark, for the way he had dressed the possibility in vagueness, as a little girl might have dressed her doll. He had made them—and by no fault of their own—momentarily pull it for him, the possibility, out of this vagueness; and must he not therefore take it now as they had had simply, with whatever thin attenuations, to give it to him? The very question, it may be added, made him feel lonely and cold. There was the element of the awkward, all round, but Chad and Mme. de Vionnet had at least the comfort that they could talk it over together. With whom could *he* talk of such things?—unless indeed always, at almost any stage, with Maria? He foresaw that Miss Gostrey would come again into requisition on the morrow; though it was not to be denied that he was already a little afraid of her "What on earth—that's what I want to know now—had you then supposed?" He recognized at last that he had really been trying, all along, to suppose nothing. Verily, verily, his labor had been lost. He found himself supposing everything.

To be continued.

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